

PART III

CHAPTER VIII

The Problem Check List : The Self-picture

Review of relevant studies

Analysis of the Tasmanian group

CHAPTER VIII

The Problem Check List

Review of the literature on the problems of late-childhood, pre-adolescence, and early-adolescence with particular reference to studies using the Mooney Problem Check List.

"Being anxious" and "having problems" are not necessarily synonymous but they are often associated. One may expect that generally the child who feels anxious will have more problems than the child who does not feel anxious; but it is also true that the anxiety may be diffused and not related to any particular problem in the child's mind. However, because of the possibility of the relevance of anxiety to children's problems, some studies of anxiety are included in this review.

Degree of anxiety is not a function of level of intelligence, nor is it necessarily correlated with the level of school achievement (Keller and Rowley, 1964). Relatively ineffective school performance may be found in association with both high and low scores on anxiety (Cox, 1960).

Highly anxious subjects have been found to have more personal problems than subjects low on anxiety, and to have their problems in more behavioural areas than subjects low on anxiety (Hannes, 1959). Striking differences in the degree of anxiety and susceptibility to emotional stress appear to exist between American males and females (Kuhlen, 1952a, pp. 274-282). Probably this is due to the differences in role of American males and females. Since there are similarities in the cultural patterns of America and Australia, one might expect similar sex differences in anxiety, susceptibility to emotional stress, and areas of problem concentration, to occur with Australian children.

It is also true that "adolescents are maturing in a different culture than that of pre-war years. Consequently problem areas (my emphasis) may have altered considerably" (Abel and Gingles, 1958, p. 384).

Kuhlen (1952a) also found at the time of writing, that the American culture induced a more gradual and earlier social maturity in boys than in girls (p. 576), probably in association with the greater freedom for boys and their tendency to move earlier outside the family and further from the family in their day to day environment. Herbst's (1952) study of Australian children supports the notion of a similar

pattern for Australians, the boy assuming greater and earlier freedom from the home than the girl does. The boy's earlier social maturation is probably a matter of having a wider social experience, assuming more responsibility for his own personal and physical safety, and so on, and does not imply that the boy has a greater social sensitivity and social acuity than the girl has. In a group of Queensland adolescents Harwood (1956) found no major distinction between sexes in the extent of development of social maturity but the development was in different directions for males and females; that is, males and females had a different social orientation.

The sex role can have a powerful influence on the patterns of values, opinions, social issues, and attitudes adopted by the two sexes (Harwood, p. 166), boys being "conditioned from pre-adolescent days to accept the dominant, practical and responsible role embedded in the mores of society." Even at an earlier stage - within the primary school - the demands made on the child vary with age and sex (Oeser and Hammond, 1954).

It is probable, therefore, that the problems for the two sexes checked on a Problem Check List would occur in different areas, or even if they were within the same area,

would be different items in that area. For example, one might expect a different checking pattern for boys and girls in the areas of Self-centred Concerns (SC), Relations to People in General (PG), and Boy and Girl Relations (BG), all of which have a social bias.

In what areas have children been found to locate the greatest number of problems? Jersild (1952) and Emmett (1959) found that children of all ages were concerned with personal and physical attributes, skills, social relationships, home and family affairs, sport and school, and that at all ages there was a tendency to disparage the self. In other words children as Jersild and Emmett saw them would be likely to have problems in all the seven areas where Mooney's subjects (1942, 1950) located their problems. However, they need not, presumably, have an equal number of problems in every area.

Staines (1954) saw in children from the age of 12 years an increasing concern with personal relationships, so that gaining acceptance and being able to express and receive emotional responses was important to them. This suggests the probability of an increasing number of problems being located by older children of both sexes in

social areas of the Check List.

The adult does not always perceive which areas contain the greatest number of problems as experienced by the child. This is apparent in the investigation made by Washington and Amos (1951) into the problems marked on the Mooney Check List by 30 grade VII and 30 grade VIII children. The teachers concerned with these children failed to recognize many of the problems the children located for themselves in the School area (S), and were relatively unaware of problems in the Health and Physical Development area (HPD). They considered that most of the children's problems lay in the Self-centered Concerns area (SC); the children, however, checked most of their problems in area of School, next most in Money, Work and the Future (MWF), then in Self-centered Concerns, then in Health and Physical Development, both sexes showing the same hierarchy of areas.

Comparability of sex patterns does not hold in all studies. With a group of somewhat different age-range - 720 students from age 9 through 12 - Clements and Celke (1966) found sex differences. Boys reported a higher mean number of problems in the Money, Work and Future area than

TABLE 10
Comparison by Sexes of Responses to Mooney
*
Problem Check List Areas

Area of Problems	No. of items	Mean Score		
		Boys	Girls	Total
NPD	30	3.67	5.03	4.17
S	30	5.51	6.03	5.70
HP	30	3.16	4.22	3.46
MNP	30	5.42	5.51	5.34
BG	30	2.75	3.74	3.00
PG	30	3.50	4.51	3.86
SC	30	5.08	6.28	5.17
No. of subjects		56	31	87

* From Washington, R. M., and Amon, R. T. (1951).

the girls did. In the other problem areas, the girls reported a larger mean number of problems than the boys, being significantly higher in area NPD and most nearly equivalent in areas PG and BG. They also found that students from communities that were neither urban nor farm communities indicated a higher mean number of problems

than did the children from the strictly rural and strictly urban areas.

The predominance of School (5) as the problem area occurs again in Abel and Gingles' study (1958), of 9th and 10th grade girls, and in Morris's study (1954). Abel and Gingles' girls also scored high on problems of personal and social relationships and low on problems in the MWF area which, as Clements and Oelke found, was an area which seemed to concern boys much more than girls. However, MWF does not persistently predominate as an area of high numbers of problems in Kemp's (1965) study of boys with low, medium and high numbers of problems. Boys who had relatively few or medium numbers of problems did not indicate a large number of these in the MWF area, but boys with a high total number of problems did check MWF as the area of the greatest number of problems. It seemed that the greater the number of problems Kemp's students found themselves to have, the more they were concerned with their health, sense of personal value, and money earning capacity, and the less problems they had the greater became their sense of established worth and social skill and personal relationships.

A slightly different approach to the importance of

problem areas is that in Landerfur and Sigge (1966). This was an attempt to relate areas of anxiety to school achievement and it was found, in a group of 217 Grade VIII and Grade IX students, that the number of school problems indicated correlated significantly and negatively with school achievement, children with less problems showing higher levels of school success. Similarly, numbers of problems in the area Home and Family (HF) and total numbers of problems on the full Check List correlated significantly and negatively with school achievement. The number of problems in area BG showed no correlation with school achievement.

In brief, the children who were anxious in general or anxious about specific school or family situations tended to be the poorer school achievers.

While not using a Problem Check List as the basis for research, Parker (1964), trying to locate the difficulties involved in the change from primary to secondary school, presented the students with a list of topics for discussion selected from areas about which they appeared to feel anxiety. The topics chosen by the students as most needing discussion were, in order of frequency, as follows:

1. What are important elements in getting along with other people?
2. Choosing friends : what are "desirable friends"?

3. Dating. 4. Parental expectations. 5. Cliques - good or bad? 6. Amount, nature and difficulty of junior high school homework. 7. Clothes, lipstick and hairdo. 8. Strictness and helpfulness of junior high school teachers. 9. Increased freedom - how much? 10. Values in life. 11. The world of work. 12. Participation in class work; paying attention to the teacher and contributing to class discussions. It is immediately apparent that the two broad areas of concern here are social relationships (represented by areas FG and BG on the Mooney) and school (area S) the latter including at least five of the topics chosen.

In studies quoted above age and sex differences in locations of problems have been shown to occur. Between boys and girls the most obvious difference is that pointed out by Mooney (1942), namely that girls at all stages lead in problems of personal and social adjustment (areas FG, BG, GC) and home and family (area HF), whereas boys consistently show higher number of problems in areas LWF and S. Mooney's conclusions were confirmed by Clements and Oelke (1966, p.61). A comparable indication is that of Bledsoe (1967) whose study suggests a confirmation of Mooney's conclusion that boys locate more problems than girls in area S. Bledsoe noted

that adolescent boys considered intelligence and the traits measured by achievement tests of more importance than girls did: one would expect to find in association with this attitude, that adolescent boys would indicate a higher number of problems in area C,

Arora (1965) also looked at the sex differences, but the findings in this study tend to disagree with those of Mooney, in that significant differences between boys and girls (at least up to the age of 11 years) in the problems of getting along with others occur in only one of the three classes of students constituting the study-population.

Age differences also are likely to be associated with differences in problems. Jersild (1952) found that younger children tended to define themselves in terms of external criteria, such as personal appearance and grooming, whereas older children defined themselves in terms of their inner resources and their relationships. Since the younger child shows this greater attention to external criteria, one might look to find in younger children a higher number of problems in the area HPD and a lower number in such areas as EG, DG, HF than for older children. This does seem to occur in Staines' study (1954) where the younger children, even by

the age of 8 and 9, were critical of their personal appearance, for example, "being fat" was a prevalent self criticism with 8 year olds, whereas the older children increasingly tended to show concern with interest and attitudes and wanting to "mix with the right people," until, at the age of 12, "values" were the most important concerns, physical problems came next, and problems of school work next. Crow (1962) stresses teenage worry over popularity, wanting to be liked and "personal success," with worry over school study being also prevalent but secondary to concern over peer-group relationships.

Spivak's analysis (1957) of school problems shows that young high school students felt a marked dissatisfaction with their teachers and an awareness of a need for additional help in subjects of the curriculum and in techniques of study.

Looney's own study of the problems of high school children (1943) indicates that though there were differences in the problems of children from different communities these differences were negligible or minor in areas which centered on the individual's interpretation of himself and his immediately personal activities, attitudes and relationships. So areas of, ego, self, and specific questions relating to fear, discomfort, worry, goals and moral values

showed least effect of socio-economic differences in background. Mooney also found that students were quite willing to mark their problems (Mooney, 1943 a) and that juniors were more concerned than any other group with adjustment to school work.

General Analysis

Analysis (A)

Primary School Girls - Grade VI	Composition of the Group
	School A N=7
	School B N=19
	Total N=26

There are few problems in the Problem Check List which are common to the group, that is, are checked by any considerable proportion of the girls. Rather, selection tends to be scattered widely but thinly over a large number of items most of which receive just one or two checks. In all, the 26 girls mark 97 items as problems, but of these 59 are checked only once or twice. Only 11 are marked as problems by 25 per cent or more of the subjects (Table 11). The average number of checked items per girl is 10. The greatest number of problems for any one subject is 39 and the least 0.

The chief areas of problems are more definitely indicated; SC, S, and MID are checked more highly than other areas. FG scores more moderately, and the other three areas receive noticeably fewer checks. So although the diversity of item choice suggests wide individual differences in specific anxiety-provoking situations, the concentration of checks in certain areas indicates that there are certain general aspects round which the girls' problems tend to localise (Table XI).

TABLE 11

Problem Areas of the Check List
Grade VI Girls(N = 26)

Area	No. of Checks per area	No. of items checked per area	No. of items per area checked by 25% or more of subjects
MID	48	16	2
S	61	18	4
HF	16	8	-
MWF	19	12	1
LC	23	13	-
FG	33	15	-
SC	61	15	4
Totals	261	97	11

The three dominating areas present items that are associated primarily with the demands of the immediate

present and with the well-being or comfort of the self, such as health, personal appearance, school successes and difficulties, present personal fears and failures, difficulties of self-expression. (A re-grouping of checked items into "constellations" see Appendix II - as is done later points up more clearly the foci of choices.)

With one exception - item 89, "deciding what subjects to take at high school" - itself rather closely bound to the present, problems about the future, attitudes towards the subject such as parental regard, criticism and discipline, relationships and associations with the peers of either sex, amount of freedom allowed, responsibility, and other people's troubles, provoke little expressed concern. The most-shared problems in the list are shown in Table 12 below.

A noticeable feature is the predominance of items directly or implicitly related to fear of failure. Items 34, 35, and 41 are specific statements of failure; items 7, 31, 66 imply failure. The other items indicate feelings of inadequacy, powerlessness, and inability to cope with everyday situations. Nineteen of the 26 girls checked at least one of the 6 "fear-of-failure" items (items 34, 35, 41, 7, 31, 66), and 11 of them checked two or more of the 6 items.

TABLE 12
 Most Frequently Checked Items
 Grade VI Girls (N=26)

Item	Area	Detail	No. times checked	Percentage of group checking
7	S	Afraid of tests	14	54
42	S	Trouble with arithmetic	7	27
45	S	Trouble with writing	6	23
41	S	Afraid of failing in school work	6	23
31	SC	Being nervous	11	42
34	SC	Being afraid of making mistakes	8	31
32	SC	Can't make up my mind about things	6	23
35	SC	Failing in so many things I do	6	23
66	SC	Getting into trouble	5	19
69	SC	Having bad dreams	5	19
1	HPD	Often having headaches	6	23
3	HPD	Trouble with teeth	6	23
73	HPD	Too fat, too thin	5	19
108	HPD	Trouble with eyes	5	19
89	LWP	Deciding what to take in High School	6	23
61	IG	Being teased	5	19

It is possible that the reactions of girls from the two schools to the Check List are different. For example, they may contribute significantly different proportions of the total number of checks or of the checks for individual areas, or of the responses to specific items.

TABLE 13

Distribution of Checks according to Schools
Grade VI Girls

	School A (N=7)	School B (N=19)
Area	No. of checks	No. of checks
HPD	21	27
S	18	43
HF	8	8
LWF	6	13
EG	5	16
FG	8	25
SC	23	38
Total	89	172

A comparison of these two distributions yields a chi-square = 7.76 ($p > .20$), and Kendall's tau for the rank order of hierarchies = .523 ($S=11$ and $P(S) = .068$).

Neither of these values is significant at the .05 level. However for both schools the areas SC, C, and IHD are the three most-checked areas. So it may be accepted that the results from the two schools differ a little in the order of importance in the full run of problems areas but not basically in what constitute the main problem areas.

The School A girls with a total of 89 checks from 7 girls (average 13.0) have also a significantly higher checking frequency than the School B girls with a total of 172 checks from 19 girls (average 9.05) (chi-square = 7.36, $p < .05$), and although there are no significant differences (Fisher Exact Test) in the numbers of checks given by the two schools to specific items, the School A girls check, on the average, significantly more items than the School B girls.

	School A	School B
Number of subjects	7	19
Total number of checks	89	172
Number of items checked	49	85

There may be, then, a higher incidence of problems, or a keener recognition of problems, or a greater willingness to indicate problems on the part of subjects in School A.

It might be expected that level of intelligence or mental maturity would affect response patterns even more than school or chronological age, except, perhaps, in the case of age for responses to items associated with physical development.

The group was therefore, divided according to each of these variables in turn. Since both mean and median points fall close together, the means for CA and MA being a little higher than the median, the medians were used as the splitting points (see Tables 2 - 4, pp. 82-86).

TABLE 14

Distribution of Checks for Group Divided According to
CA, MA, and IQ. Grade VI Girls (N=26)

	C. Age		M. Age *		I. Q.	
Area	Lower age 10-11 & below	Higher age 11.0 & above	Lower age 11-8 & below	Higher age 11-9 & above	Lower IQ 109 & below	Higher IQ 110 & above
	N=13	N=13	N=14	N=12	N=13	N=13
HPD	26	22	34	14	29	19
S	32	29	32	29	28	33
HF	12	4	8	8	6	10
MMF	10	9	10	9	10	9
BG	17	6	14	9	12	11
PG	19	14	15	18	14	19
SC	34	27	39	22	34	27
Chi-square	5.65		5.6		5.05	
p	=.5		=.5		.5 > p > .3	
χ^2	15		14		14	
P(S)	=.015		.015 > p > .035		.015 > p > .035	

* Two median cases were arbitrarily placed in the lower group (Bernstein, 1964, p. 38).

Comparison of these paired groups, with the school of origin disregarded, gives the following findings.

1. Between the paired groups for each of these variables there are no statistically significant differences in the over-all patterns of distribution of checks. In all cases for Chi-square $p > .05$ and $P(S) < .05$ for Kendall's tau. That is, the apparent variations in importance of the areas as sources of problems as indicated by the absolute numbers of checks are not sufficiently great to be statistically meaningful. Both lower and higher groups indicate as the most important areas of problems on the list SC, S, and HPD, and as the least important HF and MWP. This is the same emphasis as is found for the two school groups and for the total group of Grade VI girls.
2. The groups of chronologically and mentally younger subjects give a significantly higher number of checks than the older groups; (Chi-square = 6.3, $p < .02$).
3. The difference in emphasis given by the upper and lower MA groups to area HPD taken in isolation is significant at the .05 level, the lower MA group expressing more concern than the higher MA group with problems of health.

Of the 140 items offered as possible problems in the Check List, not all were checked. The unchecked items may include some which are in fact problems to these subjects but are problems to which they are not prepared to admit. There is no way of knowing if this is so. It has to be assumed that the unchecked problems are not problems and so do not figure in these girls' self-pictures as things about which they worry. Of the checked problems some, though occurring in a number of different areas of the Check List, are closely related and may be seen as forming constellations concerned with relatively specific portions of the greater areas in which they are located or as being various aspects of a single large problem. It is proposed to see if reactions to these constellations differ in accordance with any of the four variables, School, CA, MA, and IQ. A list of items grouped into constellations is given in Appendix II.

For this group of girls the item constellations receiving numbers of checks of any size worth considering are shown below.

The distribution pattern of checks for the constellations made by the total group of girls compared with the expected frequency distribution (that is, frequency calculated

TABLE 15
Numbers of Responses to Chief Item Constellations
Primary Girls (N=26)

Constellation	No. of items checked	Possible max. no. of items	Total no. of checks	School		C. Age		M. Age		I. Q.	
				A N=7	B N=19	Lower N=13	Higher N=13	Lower N=14	Higher N=12	Lower N=13	Higher N=13
Personal Appearance	6	7	15	2	13	8	7	8	7	8	7
Health	10	12	32	19	13	19	13	24	8	19	13
Attitude to school	8	9	15	5	10	7	8	10	5	9	6
Specific school subjects	4	4	19	6	13	10	9	9	10	8	11
Fear, and fear of failure	7	8	47	13	34	24	23	24	23	21	26
Leisure	9	11	17	4	13	13	4	11	6	9	8
Social relationships	9	11	26	6	20	14	12	11	15	10	16
Totals	53	62	171	55	116	95	76	97	74	84	87

according to the ratio of checked items per constellation to the total number of checked items for all the constellations), yields a chi-square of 40.02, significant beyond the .001 level. We may therefore conclude that some of the constellations receive a significantly greater weighting of checks than do others. The outstanding deviants are the constellations concerned with ^{fear,} leisure, and attitude to school. The first of these, fear, receives a significantly much higher proportion, and the other two a significantly lower proportion of the total checks than is theoretically to be expected. It appears that fear of tests, of oral participation in lessons, of failure in school and social situations, and a general readiness to be nervous loom large as problems for these girls.

Of the four variables - School, CA, MA, and IQ - only for School is any significant difference in the overall distribution of checks for the constellations (chi-square = 14.13, $p < .05$). School A girls indicate significantly more concern with health and less with personal appearance than do the School B girls and have also a higher frequency of checks per girl ($p < .01$). Girls in the lower MA group check health items significantly more frequently than girls in the higher MA group.

Summary: Grade VI Girls

Analysis of checked responses for the whole group and for the group divided according to School, CA, MA, and IQ indicates that

1. for all variables the areas producing the greatest number of responses are SC, S, and HFD
2. there is relatively little concern with, or anxiety expressed about problems of HP, LWF, and BC
3. the group of items concerned specifically with fear of failure in school and in personal adequacy receives a greater absolute number and a higher ratio of checks per item than any other single constellation of items
4. there are considerable individual differences in the checkings of specific items; few items can be classed as common or shared problems
5. School and CA (but not MA and IQ) appear to be associated with differences in (a) areas in which problems are located, and (b) the total number of checks made, the School A group and the lower CA group having higher weightings of checks than the School B group and the higher CA group
6. the general trend of concern is egocentric. Items checked tend to be concerned with the immediate present and with matters of personal inadequacy, frequently those related to rather tangible personal discomfort.

Analysis (B)

Primary School Boys - Grade VI Composition of the Group

School A N = 11

School B N = 15

Total N = 26

The primary boys' checks on the Check List spread over 102 items - comparable with the spread of 97 for the primary girls - of which only 9 receive checks from 25 per cent or more of the group (Table 16). Fifty-eight of these items get only one or two checks. There is, therefore, evidence of a considerable diversity between individuals over what are felt to be problems, and over the number of problems, which ranges from 0 to 55 for School A boys and from 1 to 30 for School B boys. The average number of checks is 10.15.

Some areas are obviously more problem-laden than others - the distribution differs significantly from a theoretical distribution of evenly weighted areas. Areas S and LWF predominate in importance; areas HF and PG yield relatively few problems. Area S has a significantly higher number of the total checks than any other area except LWF, and PG and HF significantly lower numbers than all other areas ($p < .05$). The high score for LWF is due largely to a fairly low but widespread and even checking, almost all items being checked

TABLE 16.

Problem Areas : Primary Boys (N=26)

Area	No. of checks	No. of items checked	No. of items per area checked by 25,5 or more of subjects
HFD	35	16	1
S	63	17	6
HF	20	13	-
MWP	52	16	1
SG	37	16	1
PG	18	10	-
SC	39	14	-
Total	264	102	9

as problems. Items in area MWP deal with the fairly immediate future of adaptation to high school and the having and spending of money, and with the more remote future of jobs and marriage. All of these situations seem to be regarded as problems by one or more of the boys in contrast to the girls who marked relatively few problems in MWP.

Approximately half of the items most frequently regarded as problems in the whole list are found in Area S (Table 17).

TABLE 17
Most Frequently Checked Items

Grade VI Boys (N=26)

Item	Area	Details	No. of times checked	Percentage of group checking
6	S	Too much school work to do at home	10	38
7	S	Afraid of tests	7	27
42	S	Trouble with arithmetic	7	27
45	S	Trouble with writing	7	27
113	S	Not enough discussion in class (too little freedom in class)	7	27
76	S	Don't like school	6	23
52	AMP	Wanting to earn some of my own money	7	27
16	AMP	Spending money foolishly	5	19
69	AMP	Deciding what subjects to take in high school	5	19
2	HFD	Don't get enough sleep	8	31
21	EC	Nothing interesting to do in my spare time	8	31
31	EC	Being nervous	5	19
33	EC	Getting too excited	5	19

These major problems of the boys might be regarded as primarily problems of immediate personal comfort, self-

freedom and status. Though there is some worry over failure (items 7 and 31) and though trouble with school subjects (items 42 and 45) may be associated with anxiety about failure, yet just as readily these problems may be associated with dislike or discomfort if punishment follows, as is not infrequently the case. But problems of wanting and spending money, being troubled by having to do school work at home, being bored in one's leisure time, and just not liking school have a strongly hedonistic flavour. There is only slight evidence in these items or, for that matter, in the less popularly checked items, that these subjects' criticism is directed against themselves, or that they feel afflicted by personal shortcomings. For example, of the 26 boys only one worries that he "is not smart enough," one other that he is clumsy and awkward; no-one says he does not like study; or worries that he is lazy, or stubborn, or hurtful, or argumentative, or badtempered, or careless; no-one is troubled by being ashamed of something he has done, or troubled by lack of self-confidence.

It is possible that the distributions of item choices and the item constellations might vary if the subjects were grouped according to school, chronological age, mental age, and intelligent quotient.

TABLE 18

Distribution of Checks According to School, CA, IA, and IL
Grade VI Boys (N=26)

Area	No. of checks	School		CA		IA		IL	
		A (N=11)	B (N=15)	Age 10-10 & below (N=13)	Age 10-11 & above (N=13)	Age 10-7 & below (N=13)	Age 11-8 & above (N=13)	10-110 & below (N=14)*	11-111 & above (N=12)
MB	35	19	16	26	9	24	11	12	23
S	63	32	31	40	23	40	23	36	27
MP	20	9	11	13	7	11	9	9	11
MP	52	26	26	30	14	30	22	21	31
20	37	20	17	25	12	16	21	13	24
10	10	11	7	15	3	11	7	7	11
00	39	17	22	25	14	19	20	15	24
Total	264	134	130	182	82	151	113	100	151
Chi-square for paired distributions									
		2.56		2.37		7.74		7.23	
p		.9		.9		.5 > p > .3		.5	
S		15		16		15		15	
P(0)		.015		.015 > p > .005		.015		.015	

* Includes the two median cases. See Bernstein (1964, p. 39).

The subjects are divided medianly for CA, MA, and I1. In the CA grouping all except three boys in the lower group are from School A, and all except one in the upper group from School B. The schools are more proportionately represented in the MA grouping (School A: School B is 7 : 5 in the lower group, and 4 : 9 in the upper group), and most proportionately distributed in the I1 grouping (School A : School B is 6 : 8 in the lower group, and 5 : 7 in the upper group - the two median cases are placed in the lower group as is done by Bernstein (1964, p. 38). Because of this, comparisons according to CA and MA are virtually little more than recapitulations of the comparisons according to school.

There is no significant difference in the distribution patterns for School, CA, MA or I1. (Even when each of the schools is considered as a separate sub-group and each sub-group then divided medianly for I1, S, and FIVE are the highest checked areas, SG and HP the least.) There are, however, significant differences ($p < .05$) between the two schools for the total number of checks made, and the total number of items checked:

	School A	School B
Number of Subjects	11	15
Total number of checks	134	130
Number of items checked	76	70

In brief:-

- (a) School A has a significantly higher number of checks for the size of its group than School B. (Chi-square = 8.68, $p < .01$)
- (b) The higher IQ group of boys checks significantly more frequently than the lower IQ group of boys and this holds for both the schools combined or considered separately.

So School A boys, like School A girls, express - or experience - on the average, more problems than their School B contemporaries. However, unlike the primary girls where for the variable of IQ there is no big difference in total number of checks for upper and lower groups, the more intelligent boys exhibit greater awareness, greater incidence, or greater admission of problems than do the boys of lower intelligence.

Of the 16 constellations of items into which the list has been divided, 9 receive sufficient checks to be worthy of notice. In view of the difference in the number of items per constellation the distribution of observed scores is

compared with a theoretical frequency based on the numbers of checked items per constellation and is found to differ significantly from it ($p < .05$). That is, the constellations do not have equal weight as problem sources. Constellations of items dealing with attitude to school and with specific school subjects receive significantly higher weighting - and therefore are, presumably greater sources of anxiety - and that concerned with home attitudes and conditions has lower weighting and is presumably less productive of anxiety, than the other constellations (Table 19)..

There is no significant difference between the schools or between the higher and lower I. groups in the patterns of distribution of responses to these constellations; but there are significant differences between the totals of the paired groups for these two variables. The School A group and the higher I. group give significantly higher numbers of responses than their paired groups, but their responses are located in similar proportions in the same areas.

TABLE 19
Responses to Chief Item Constellations
Primary Boys (N=26)

Constellation	No. of items checked	Possible maximum no. of items	Total no. of checks	School		CA		MA		IQ	
				A (N=11)	B (N=15)	Lower (N=13)	Higher (N=13)	Lower (N=13)	Higher (N=13)	Lower (N=14) *	Higher (N=12)
Health	10	12	24	14	10	17	7	16	8	10	14
Attitude to school	7	9	27	15	12	21	6	18	9	14	13
Specific subjects	4	4	19	6	13	10	9	11	8	11	8
Fear & fear of failure	7	8	21	10	11	12	9	10	11	10	11
Home attitudes & conditions	12	16	16	7	9	10	6	8	8	7	9
Money	7	10	23	11	12	16	7	13	10	8	15
Work/Future	8	10	27	15	12	20	7	15	12	13	14
Leisure	8	11	24	12	12	14	10	11	13	8	16
Social relations	7	11	14	9	5	11	3	9	5	6	8
Personal attributes	3	8	5	3	2	4	1	2	3	2	3
Totals	73	99	200	102	98	135	65	113	87	89	111

* Includes two median cases. See Bernstein (1964, p. 38).

Summary: Grade VI Boys

1. the area of highest checking by these boys is S, closely followed by LWF. The same emphasis holds for the schools taken independently and for the higher and lower intelligence groups.
2. areas HF and FG contain few indications of problems
3. there are significant differences in the allocation of responses by the boys from the two schools and by those of the higher and lower I_q groups
4. area S contains the greatest number of "common" specific problems, and the two most heavily weighted constellations are those containing problems related to difficulty with school subjects and attitude to school
5. there are few common problems in the whole list and a wide range of individual differences in both the numbers and items of problems checked
6. some shared characteristics of the most common problems are their lack of implied self-criticism of the subject, their concern with the immediate present, and, compared with the common problems of the girls, their slighter emphasis on fear and fear of failure.

Analysis (C)

Secondary School Girls - A Class : Composition of the Group

ex-School A N = 6

ex-School B N = 19

Total N = 25

The group of girls tested 15 months after the first testing period and shortly after their entrance to the secondary school (School C) is not quite identical with the first group tested. Three of the original group (one ex-School A, two ex-School B) were absent at the second time of testing, but two others (all ex-School B) who had been absent the first time were present on the second occasion and are included in the later analysis.

As for the Grade VI girls, there is again a wide range of problems checked, namely 94 of the full list of 140 items; but of these only 14 are checked by 25 per cent or more of the subjects, and 48 are checked only twice or once. The average number of problems per subject is 11.4.

There are no "common" items in area III. Areas I and II are the chief sources of the most common problems, several of which, indicated by an asterisk, were common problems of the Grade VI group. (A comparison of the most common problems for both testings is set out in Table 21.)

TABLE 20

Most Frequently Checked Items

Secondary Girls (N=25)

E Class

Item	Area	Detail	No. of times checked	%
* 7	S	Afraid of tests	8	32
*41	S	Afraid of failing in school work	9	36
*42	S	Trouble with arithmetic	6	24
114	S	Afraid to speak up in class	6	24
*31	SC	Being nervous	12	48
67	SC	Trying to stop a bad habit	10	40
*34	SC	Being afraid of making mistakes	8	32
*32	SC	Can't make up my mind about things	6	24
40	HPD	Not good looking	6	24 (all ex- school B
*73	HPD	Too fat, too thin	5	20
30	PG	Wishing people liked me better	6	24
*61	PG	Being teased	6	24
131	PG	Getting into arguments	5	20
59	EG	Not allowed to go out with boyfriends	6	24
126	EG	Learning how to dance	6	24
127	EG	Keeping myself neat and looking nice	5	20
60	EG	so often not allowed to go out at nights	5	20
46	EP	Sickness at home	6	24

* Indicated as "common" problems in Grade VI

TABLE 21

Comparison of Most Frequently Checked Items for Grade VI and B Class Girls

Item	Area	Details	Grade VI			B Class		
			Total group	School A	School B	Total group	School A	School B
7	S	Afraid of tests	14	3	11	8	0	8
41	S	Afraid of failing in school work	6	3	3	9	1	8
42	S	Trouble with arithmetic	7	2	5	6	3	3
45	S	Trouble with writing	6	3	3	0	0	0
114	S	Afraid to speak up in class	1	0	1	6	2	4
31	SC	Being nervous	11	3	8	12	1	11
32	SC	Can't make up my mind about things	6	3	3	6	2	4
34	SC	Afraid of making mistakes	8	5	3	8	0	8
35	SC	Failing in so many things I do	6	0	6	4	0	4
66	SC	Getting into trouble	5	1	4	0	0	0
67	SC	Trying to stop a bad habit	4	1	3	10	3	7
69	SC	Having bad dreams	5	4	1	3	0	3
1	HFD	Often having headaches	6	3	3	4	1	3
3	HFD	Trouble with teeth	6	2	4	2	1	1
40	HFD	Not good-looking	2	0	2	6	0	6
73	HFD	Too fat, too thin	5	0	5	5	0	5
108	HFD	Trouble with my eyes	5	3	2	2	0	2

* Indicates chi-square for one tailed test, significant at level p .05.

(Table continued on next page)

TABLE 21 (cont.)

Item	Area	Details	Grade VI			E'Class		
			Total group	School A	School B	Total group	School A	School B
30	PG	Wishing people liked me better	1	0	1	6	0	6
61	PG	Being teased	5	2	3	6	1	5
131	PG	Getting into arguments	1	1	0	5	0	5
59	EG	Not allowed to go out with boy-friends	1	0	1	6	1	5
60	EG	So often not allowed to go out at night	4	1	3	5	0	5
126	EG	Learning how to dance	2	0	2	6	0	6
127	EG	Keeping myself neat and looking nice	0	0	0	5	0	5
46	EP	Sickness at home	3	2	1	6	1	5
89	ENP	Deciding what subjects to take in high school	6	1	5	1	0	1

* Indicates chi-square for one tailed test, significant at level $p \leq .05$.

Concern with failure at school and in social situations in general is again marked, but there is a tendency to express more anxiety than in the previous year about social adequacy, and items relating to social restriction and independence are appearing as problems.

Problems of health and personal appearance have this same social flavour. It is no longer so much headaches, teeth and eyes about which subjects worry but not being good looking, keeping clean and looking nice (and hence being socially acceptable). In general "wishing people liked me better" is becoming important.

"Getting into trouble" gets no checks but "getting into arguments" gets five, the difference being possibly that the subjects now tend to assert themselves verbally more forcefully.

This expression of emergent social awareness and concern with presenting to society an acceptable or pleasing self-image is congruent with normal theories of development: the adolescent is searching for his niche in the social world. The occurrence of such awareness at the beginning of these girls' secondary education may be attributable to nothing more than normal psycho-physical development, it cannot be proved to be an effect arising from entry into a large

co-educational secondary school. However, the experience of changing from an established place at the top of the primary school to a place at the bottom of the secondary school might well be expected to enhance or provoke doubts about personal adequacy and anxiety about acceptance in the new society. A striking feature of the B Class results on the Check List is the change in the relative contributions of the girls from the two schools. At the first testing Grade VI girls from School A ($N=7$) contributed 90 of the total of 261 checks compared with 172 from the 19 girls of School B (ratio 12.7 : 9.05); in A Class the girls formerly of School A ($N=6$) contribute 37 checks and girls formerly of School B ($N=19$) contribute 248 (ratio 6.3 : 13.1), the ex-School B girls now averaging significantly more checks per girl than the preceding year. (Even if only the girls actually present at both times of testing are taken into account, the same situation still holds.)¹

Problems range in number from 2 to 12 for ex-School A subjects and from 0 to 48 for ex-School B subjects. It seems possible that there is something basically different in the reactions of the School A and School B girls to transition

1. The two Grade VI girls missing from the A Class group had scores of 3 and 17; the two additional girls in the A Class group had scores of 6 and 20.

to the secondary school. It could be that the School A girls have withdrawn and the girls from School B have become more aware or more expressive of their problems, or that the girls from School A have adjusted more easily and completely, and the girls from School B have become more unsure and disturbed by the new situation. Whatever the reason, on items in Table 21 above, the scores for School B go up more frequently than they go down (17 increases, 6 decreases) whereas except for four items the School A scores fall (16 items) or remain static (6 items).

School A girls appear to be more anxious about elements in the school situation in comparison with the other areas than are the School B girls; School B girls express most concern with SC problems. Area SC has, in fact, assumed outstanding importance as the source of problems for the secondary school girls.

Some of the primary school pattern of problems is still evident in the secondary school year pattern (see Table 22). For the full group, areas HP and M/P remain relatively low as problem sources. This lack of problems associated with Home and Family at first seems a little surprising, but, in fact, the type of home problems that one would expect to find here are included in area SC, for example, items 58, 59 and 60, which deal with restrictions on freedom and which are checked quite frequently.

Area SC has assumed greater importance and predominates over all other areas ($p < .05$): 25 per cent of all the checks are made in this area. Area BG, previously an area of rather low importance, now ranks with area PG second in importance to area SC.

As in the previous year, children below and above the median for CA, MA, and IQ show no significant differences in hierarchy of areas. However the lower MA and IQ groups¹ indicate significantly higher incidence of problems than their counterpart groups ($p < .01$) and locate a higher proportion of their checks in area HPD, while the younger subjects locate a higher proportion in area BG than do the older subjects.

The item-constellations receiving the most checks are personal appearance, health, fear of failure, leisure, personal attributes, and social relationships. School subjects and attitudes to school give rise to fewer worries than for the Grade VI girls. (Table 23.)

The distribution of checks accorded these constellations deviates considerably from theoretical expectation (that is, in relation to the numbers of questions per constellation): ($p < .01$). Actual frequencies for fear and fear-of-failure are significantly higher, and those for health and social relationships

1. The IQ and MA groups are identical.

TABLE 22
Distribution of Checks According to School, CA, MA, and IQ
Secondary Girls (N=25)

Area	No. of checks	School		CA		MA		IQ	
		School		Age 12.4		Age 13.0		IQ 109	
		ex-A (N=6)	ex-B (N=19)	& below (N=13)	& above (N=12)	& below (N=13)	& above (N=12)	& below (N=12)	& above (N=13)
HPD	40	5	35	17	23	29	11	29	11
S	45	11	34	21	24	28	17	28	17
HP	12	1	11	10	2	7	5	7	5
KWP	24	4	20	10	14	17	7	17	7
DS	49	4	45	18	31	35	14	35	14
PG	44	5	41	21	23	31	13	31	13
SC	71	9	62	35	36	53	18	53	18
Total	285	37	248	132	153	200	85	200	85
Chi-square for paired distributions		8.25		9.16		2.99		2.99	
p		.2 > p > .1		.2 > p > .1		> .8		> .8	
γ S		*		16		17		17	
(p)S				.015 > p > .005		.005		.005	

* Smallness and near-identity of numbers for ex-School A make reasonable use of Kendall rank correlation inappropriate.

TABLE 23

Responses to Chief Item Constellations
Secondary Girls (N=25)

Constellation	No. of items checked	Possible maximum no. of items	Total no. of checks	CA		MA and IQ	
				Lower (N=13)	Higher (N=12)	Lower (N=13)	Higher (N=12)
Personal appearance	6	7	16	8	8	11	5
Health	13	12	24	8	16	18	6
Fear, and fear of failure	6	8	46	24	22	31	15
Leisure	9	11	34	12	22	24	10
Personal attributes	5	8	16	8	8	10	6
Social relationships (general)	10	11	22	11	11	17	5
Relationship with opposite sex	6	6	23	7	16	11	12
Totals	55	63	181	78	103	122	59

are significantly lower than the theoretical frequencies. MA or IQ is associated with more noticeable checking differences than is CA, but in spite of the marked discrepancy in totals for the MA/IQ groups the patterns of distribution are similar. Although subjects with greater mental maturity and intellectual ability appear to have fewer problems, nevertheless fear and fear-of-failure troubles them most.

The variables CA and MA, considered separately, appear to be associated with few significant differences in checking patterns, but it was anticipated that, treated as a single compound variable, they might be associated with more marked differences. In the total group of 25 girls there were two sub-groups, each of 7 girls, one consisting of younger-brighter girls who were below the median CA and above the median MA, and the other of older-duller girls who were above the median CA and below the median MA. These two groups are compared in Table 24.

First, the hierarchies of the distributions are not significantly different ($p > .05$). Secondly, the only significant difference is that the older-duller group checks more frequently than does the younger-brighter group.

Differences in the amount of checking seems therefore to be the factor most characteristically associated with all the controlled variables so far considered.

TABLE 24

Check-scores for Younger-brighter and Older-duller Girls

Area	No. of Choices	
	Younger-brighter (U=7)	Older-duller (E=7)
HFD	9	21
S	13	20
HF	7	4
WVP	8	15
BQ	12	29
IG	12	22
SC	15	33
Total	76	144

Summary: E Class Girls

1. for all the variables considered the basic pattern of problems remains the same. To this extent there is a "common" self-picture for the group.
2. this basic pattern has Self-Concerns as the chief area of problems. Areas HFD and S, BQ and IG are next and

approximately equal in importance. HF problems are negligible

3. problems related to fear-of-failure, inadequacy, unacceptableness dominate

4. an increasing social awareness is suggested by the emergence of some "new " common problems

5. the more intelligent and/or mentally more mature girls indicate fewer problems on the list than the less intelligent and/or mentally less mature girls

6. the chief differences between the Grade VI and B Class response-patterns lie in:

- (a) the emergence in B class of area BC as an important source of problems
- (b) the reversal in the average weight of checkings per child of girls from School A and School B indicating, probably, a difference in the way the transition from primary to secondary school has been made by these two groups
- (c) a reduction of problems associated with specific school subjects (19 checks in Grade VI, 9 checks in B class) and attitude to school (15 checks in Grade VI and 8 checks in B Class); and an increased concern about personal relationships with the opposite sex (6 in Grade VI, 23 in B Class) and personal attributes (7 in Grade VI, 16 in B Class), and leisure (17 in Grade VI and 34 in B Class).

Analysis (D)

Secondary School Boys : Composition of the Group

ex-School A	N = 7
ex-School B	N = 19
Total	N = 26

Membership of the E Class boys' group is not identical with that of the Grade VI Group. Six of the original group (4 from School A and 2 from School B) were not present, but a total of 26 boys satisfying the criteria answered the measures in E Class.

They give 295 responses to a total of 113 items of which 63 receive only one or two checks each, and only 11 can be regarded as common problems having been checked by approximately 25 per cent or more of the whole group. The average number of problems is 11.3. The number of items checked by any one individual ranges from 17 to 1 for ex-School A boys (the boy who scored 55 in Grade VI checked only 4 items in E Class), and from 42 (the next highest was 30) to 1 for ex-School B boys. The average score of the 6 "new" ex-School B boys is 16 compared with 12 for the remaining ex-School B boys.

Although the checks are spread more evenly over the problem areas than in the previous testing, there is still

a significant deviation from a theoretically even distribution over all areas (Table 25). Areas S and MWP, as in Grade VI, produce the highest number of responses, area HP is significantly less productive than any other area.

TABLE 25

Problem Areas : Secondary Boys

(N=26)

Area	No. of checks	No. of items checked	No. of items per area checked by 25, (approximately) or more
HPD	44	19	1
S	58	17	3
HP	21	12	-
MWP	57	18	3
SG	44	15	3
PG	35	16	-
SO	38	16	1
Totals	295	113	11

Area PG has increased in importance as a source of problems with the items "wishing people liked me better" and "being left out of things" being the most frequently checked.

As happens with the School A girls there is a significant change in the proportion of the total number of checks contributed by ex-School A and ex-School B boys.

TABLE 26

Most Frequently Checked Items

Secondary Boys (N=26)

Item	Area	Detail	No. of times Checked	
121	LWP	Wanting to know more about jobs	8	31
* 52	LWP	Wanting to earn some of my own money	7	27
53	LWP	Wanting to buy more of my own things	7	27
60	BC	So often not allowed to go out at night	9	33
*21	BC	Nothing interesting to do in my spare time	7	27
126	BC	Learning how to dance	7	27
*42	S	Trouble with arithmetic	7	27
41	S	Afraid of failure in school work	6	23
115	S	Hate to take subjects I don't like	6	23
*45	S	Trouble with writing	5	19
60	CC	Sometimes not being as honest as I should be	7	27
*31	CC	Being nervous	5	19
67	CC	Trying to stop a bad habit	5	19
72	EDD	Often not hungry for my meals	6	23

* Indicates a "common" problem in Grade VI.

From 134 checks made by the School A boys (N=11) in Grade VI (average per boy 12.2), the score has fallen to 45 out of a total of 295 made by 7 boys in B Class (average per boy 6.4). For boys from School B the score has risen from 130 for 15 boys (average 8.7) in Grade VI to 250 for 19 boys in A Class (average 13.2). So that now the Grade VI situation is reversed and the ex-School B boys average significantly more checks per child than the ex-School A boys ($p < .001$), again suggesting in this change of balance some basic differences between School A and School B children in the way in which they make the transition and adaptation to secondary school. However, the hierarchical order of importance of the areas remains fairly comparable for boys from the two schools.

All except one of the common problems for the secondary boys (Table 26), are located in areas 3, 14, 15, 16, and 20. More than half of them are "new" problems and suggest an emergence of social awareness (e.g. items 60, 68, 166, together with the items from area 16 mentioned above), and a demand for independence. There are too, some signs of self-criticism and recognition of personal imperfections (items 63, 5, 126), and a suggestion of a little more fearfulness and a little more looking-ahead than in the preceding year (Table 27).

TABLE .27

Comparison of Most Frequently Checked Items for Grade VI and E Class Boys

Item	Area	Details	Grade VI			E Class		
			Total Group	School A	School B	Total Group	School A	School B
6	S	Too much school work to do at home	10	4	6	2	0	2
7	S	Afraid of tests	7	3	4	2	0	2
41	S	Afraid of failing in school work	1	0	1	6	1	5
42	S-	Trouble with arithmetic	7	3	4	7	5	2
43	-	Trouble with writing	7	0	7	5	0	5
76	S	Don't like school	6	2	4	2	1	1
112/3	S	Not enough discussion/too little freedom	4+7	5+4	2+0	3+4	0+0	3+4
115	S	Hate to take subjects I don't like	3	3	0	6	1	5
16	EMP	Spending money foolishly	5	3	2	2	0	2
52	EMP	Wanting to earn more money of my own	7	3	4	7	1	6
53	EMP	Wanting to buy more of my own things	3	1	2	7	2	5
89	EMP	Deciding what to take in high school	5	3	2	1	1	0
121	EMP	Wanting to know more about jobs	0	0	0	3	1	7
21	EE	Nothing interesting to do in spare time	8	4	4	7	1	6
60	EE	So often not allowed to go out at night	4	2	2	9	2	7
126	EE	Learning how to dance	3	2	1	7	0	7

* Indicates chi-square for 1-tailed test significant at level $p < .05$.

(Table continued on next page)

TABLE 27.1 (cont.)

Item	Area	Details	Grade VI			E Class		
			Total group	School A	School B	Total group	School A	School B
31	SC	Being nervous	5	1	4	3	1	4
33	SC	Getting too excited	5	1	4	2	0	2
67	SC	Trying to stop a bad habit	4	2	2	5	1	4
68	SC	Sometimes not being as honest as I should	3	2	1	7	1	6
72	MPD	Often not hungry for my meals	3	1	2	6	1	5
2	MPD	Don't get enough sleep	8	4	4	3	0	3

* Indicates Chi-square for 1-tailed test significant at level $p < .05$.

Of the 6 boys who are afraid of failing in school work, 5 probably have cause enough in that they are below the median IQ and below the usually-accepted IQ for success in the school Leaving Examination. Three of them, with IQs 91, 101 and 106, worry also that they are "not smart enough" and 2 of them with IQ 106 worry because they are a grade behind at school.

When the total group is split according to school and at the median for CA, MA, and IQ, the chi-square values for differences in the number of checks for each category and for the overall distribution of checks are so small as to be insignificant for all variables except IQ (Table 28). For the three variables, School, MA, and IQ, there are, however, significant differences in the total number of checks. The ex-School B boys check more frequently than the ex-School A boys and the higher MA and the lower IQ groups more frequently than their paired groups. This reversal for MA and IQ groups is due to the fact that some younger boys with above-median IQ nevertheless fall in the below-median MA group and vice versa.

Boys who are both older and duller indicate significantly more problems than boys who are younger and brighter.

	Younger & brighter	Older & duller	
Number of subjects	6	7	
No. of problems checked	70	114	$p < .05$

IQ thought of simply as, perhaps, reasoning ability, would appear to be more important than mental age in the having or not-having of problems. The boys of lower intelligence have not only more problems but also problems of a different kind and of a greater diversity than do the boys of higher intelligence. The less-intelligent boys indicate more worry in association with area SC and less in association with area DG than do the more intelligent boys. This is seen more clearly when one looks at the problem-constellation. (Table 29)

("Other self-concerns" is not a true constellation but is entered to point out that for the above-median groups "social relationships" are almost the only concern in area SC, whereas for the below-median groups a variety of other items in this area are also rated by several Subjects as problems.)

For the variable CA there are no significant differences between the above- and below-median groups in frequency of responses for any of the main constellations, but there are

TABLE 28
Distribution of Checks According to School, CA, MA, and IQ
Secondary Boys (N=26)

Area	No. of checks	School		CA		MA		IQ	
		School		Age 12.2		Age 13.4		IQ 107	
		ex-A (N=7)	ex-B (N=19)	& below (N=13)	& above (N=13)	& below (N=13)	& above (N=13)	& below (N=13)	& above (N=13)
HPD	44	9	35	24	20	17	27	25	19
S	58	6	52	24	34	28	30	37	21
HP	21	1	20	10	11	8	13	10	11
MWP	57	11	46	30	27	30	27	31	26
BC	44	7	37	18	26	16	28	17	27
PG	33	5	28	13	20	15	18	22	11
SC	38	6	32	16	22	19	19	29	9
	295	45	250	135	160	133	162	171	124
Chi-square for paired distributions		4.54		4.09		4.43		15.77	
p		> .5		> .5		> .5		< .02	
γ	S	*		15		10		2	
(P)	S			.015		.068		.45	

* Smallness and near-identity of numbers for ex-School A make reasonable use of Kendall rank correlation inappropriate

TABLE 29
Responses to Chief Item Constellations
Secondary Boys (N=26)

Constellation	No. of items checked	Possible maximum no. of checks	Total no. of checks	CA		MA		IQ	
				Lower (N=13)	Higher (N=13)	Lower (N=13)	Higher (N=13)	Lower (N=13)	Higher (N=13)
Health	12	12	34	19	15	14	20	20	14
Attitude to school	8	9	27	13	14	11	16	10	17
Specific subjects	3	4	13	5	8	8	5	10	3
Fear, and fear of failure	7	8	20	8	12	11	9	16	4
Money	8	10	31	17	14	19	12	19	12
Work and future	5+5	10	17+9	17	9	9	17	9	17
Leisure	8	11	37	16	21	16	21	14	23
Social relationships	9	11	21	10	11	11	10	15	6
Personal attributes	6	8	12	3	9	4	8	7	5
Totals	71	83	221	108	113	103	118	120	101
(Other self-concerns			27	27	0	25	2	20	7)

differences associated with the other variables. The mentally-older boys indicate less worry about present spending money but more about selecting and obtaining a job than do the mentally younger boys. The more intelligent boys are significantly less fearful and tend to be less concerned about present spending money and attainment in specific school subjects than the less intelligent boys. But they also express significantly more dissatisfaction with school (chiefly with dull classes and with not having enough discussion in class, and with having to take subjects they don't like), more worry about the future and employment, and more resent restrictions on and inadequacies in their leisure time and activities: they account for 17 of the total group's 24 checks given to the following items: "nothing interesting to do in my spare time" (5 out of 7), "not allowed to go out with girl friends" (2 out of 3), "so often not allowed to go out at night" (5 out of 7), and "learning how to dance" (5 out of 7).

Summary: E Class Boys

1. the basic pattern of distribution is high checking in areas MWP and S, lowest checking in area HF
2. area PG is, at the beginning of the secondary school, roughly equal in importance as a source of problem items to areas BG, SC, and HFD
3. for all the variables except IQ the hierarchy of areas for above- and below-median groups does not significantly differ
4. there are significant differences between the proportions of the total checks given by the ex-School A and ex-School B boys
5. IQ appears to have more relevance than CA or MA to numbers of items checked and specific types of items checked
6. the most common single items checked come fairly evenly from areas MWP, BG, S, and SC. These common problems and the items constituting the most-checked constellations indicate the emergence of social awareness and self-criticism and continued criticism of school routines
7. there are relatively few common problems, and, because of individual differences, a wide dispersion of problem items.

General Summary

The responses on the Check List are analysed for chief areas of problems, chief groups of problems, and chief individual problems. Independent variables of sex, school, age, mental age, intelligence are considered.

Some significant differences are found between various groups in relation to these variables.

Girls consistently tend to show more concern about items of a personal-social nature, and boys about items dealing with money, work, and the future.

Area 9 has a high problem frequency. The group of items concerned with fear and fear of failure - regardless of the general area in which they occur - are high ranking for girls and items concerned with leisure and restriction on freedom are important as problems for the secondary boys.

CHAPTER IX

The Problem Check List (cont.)

The Hypotheses Discussed

General note

The problems in relation to educational level

The problems in relation to school

The problems in relation to sex

Comparison of findings with those of other studies

CHAPTER IX

The Study of the Self-picture in Relation to the Hypotheses

General Note

It has been postulated that there will be differences between the self-pictures given by the primary and the secondary school children, and between those of boys and girls probably at both years. Whether the differences between primary and secondary children are due to age, maturation, or the transition from one school to another may not be apparent or decidable. No evidence of the pubertal stage of these children was taken, so it is not possible to classify the groups according to physical maturation, and the age ranges of the primary and secondary schools groups are not entirely different. The age-range for the primary school children spreads over about 18 months and, as the two testings were conducted only 15 months apart, the top level of the primary school age range corresponds roughly with that of the lower level of the secondary school group's age-range. So in this study it has been

postulated that differences will occur between children at two levels of education rather than between children of different age groups, although age has been considered in relation to the Check List as a matter of interest.

Sex differences, if they exist, can be expected to occur in both the primary and secondary years. There is no reason to suppose they would be eliminated by transition from primary to secondary school, though the two sexes may react differently to the experience and so enhance or diminish existing differences or even set up new ones.

Where some sorts of parallel changes in the self-picture of both sexes occur with the transition it would seem likely that these are the result of the change of school rather than the result of age or maturation. One change of this kind would be the lowering of self-estimates, on the assumption that both boys and girls would be forced - even shocked - into reviewing their pictures of themselves on coming up against a large company of children of their own age from other schools, as well as against older children already established in the school, amongst whom they must find and assess their place. Since all the subjects have never before had a change of school (this was one of the criteria of selection of the population of the

study) the move to a new school must present quite a new experience.

However, developing differences in orientation - girls having a social orientation and boys having a personal-adequacy orientation, as suggested by Harwood (1956) - are likely to be due more to sex and maturation than to educational transition and to result from growing-up in a society which has noticeably different role expectations of boys and girls. If such a difference exists at either year it could scarcely be attributed solely to school influences. If it were to become intensified in the secondary year this would presumably be at least partly the result of further maturation. However, if the organization, goals, methods and expectations of the school emphasize differences in sex roles and expectations, then the intensification of differences in orientation could be attributed also to the effects of change of school.

Similarly, it may not be possible to discriminate exactly between the contributions of school, maturation, and socio-economic conditions, and so on, to changes in the problems and trouble-spots of children at primary and secondary school levels, though it is probable that schools do contribute to differences in problems at the

two levels because of different emphases and goals.

Grade VI has the immediate and specific goal of promotion to the secondary school and the general goals of acquisition of basic skills and learning to be "socialised," that is, to be obedient and conforming. There is not much room for initiative nor much demand for adult-type responsibility in the primary school. The secondary school has rather more remote goals such as Leaving Examination certificates necessary for certain jobs and for admission to the university. The nature and organization of the secondary school, especially the secondary school in this study, demands a good deal of self-control and reliability in that children have to move about without supervision more than when in the primary school, and for that matter, to travel for greater distances and more frequently than is required in most urban primary schools. Movement into the secondary school brings the 2 Class children into association with older children who provide them with a different challenge, new influences, and different patterns for imitation. Differences in problems, therefore, particularly in the areas IWF and 3, could well be associated with changes in educational environment. The hypothesis that differences in responses to the Check List occur is discussed in relation to the variables of school, educational level and sex.

Comparison of Primary and Secondary Year Responses to
Check List

The following results hold whether comparison is made of the total male or female groups for each year, that is, without regard to the small changes in groups, or whether comparison is made of the slightly smaller groups constituted of only those who did the test on both occasions, namely 23 girls and 20 boys.

Girls

TABLE 30.

Data for Primary and Secondary Girls

	Primary Grade VI	Secondary 1st year (B Class)
Total number of subjects	26	25
Total number of School A subjects	7	6*
Total number of School B subjects	19	19*
Total number of checks	261	235
Total number of items checked	97	94
Number of checks by School A girls	89	37*
Number of checks by School B girls	172	248*
Number of items checked by 25, 1 or more of subjects	11	14

* Indicates ex-School A and ex-School B respectively.

I. Total Numbers of Checks

1) With regard to the total primary and secondary groups, and disregarding the primary school of origin, there are:-

- (a) no significant differences in the total number of checks or the total numbers of specific items checked at the two testings
- (b) significant differences between totals for the subjects grouped according to variables of CA, MA, IQ ($p < .05$) are:-
 - (i) girls in the upper CA group check more frequently in E class than in Grade VI
 - (ii) girls in lower MA group check more frequently in E class than in Grade VI
 - (iii) girls in lower IQ group check more frequently in E class than in Grade VI
 - (iv) girls in higher IQ group check less frequently in E class than in Grade VI
 - (v) there is no significant differences between the numbers of checks for lower CA and higher MA groups in Grade VI and E class.

Two hypotheses may be suggested:

First that the older girls with lower intelligence are finding increasing difficulty, and therefore more problems,

in coping with new life situations; hence the higher problem frequencies for upper CA, lower MA and lower IQ groups.

Second, that level of intelligence rather than mental maturity is the important factor in coping with new situations and potential problems.

2) Significant differences in the total numbers of responses are given by the subjects of each of the two schools at the two testings:-

(a) School A group checks less frequently in the secondary than in the primary year

(b) ex-school B group checks more frequently in the secondary year than in the primary year.

II. Distribution of Checks : Hierarchies of Areas

1. For total groups regardless of the primary school of origin:-

a. The distributions for Grade VI and B class are significantly different (Chi-square = 14.99; $p < .05$).

(i) Responses in area 50 dominate in both primary and secondary years, but

(ii) area 9 produces a significantly smaller proportion of responses in the secondary year (Chi-square = 5.01; $p < .05$).

(iii) Area BG has a significantly larger proportion of responses in the secondary year (Chi-square = 8.36; $p < .01$).

(iv) Area HF is the source of fewest problems in both years.

b. In groups divided medianly according to the variables CA, MA, and IQ:-

(i) Grade VI girls in the upper CA group give a significantly different distribution of checks from E class girls in the upper CA group, (Chi-square = 16.35, df 6, $p < .02$).

(ii) Girls in upper CA groups make a smaller proportion of their checks in area S in the secondary year (Chi-square = 4.370, df 1, $p < .05$).

(iii) Grade VI girls in the lower MA group give a significantly different distribution of responses from the similar group in E class (Chi-square = 12.94, df 6, $p < .05$).

(iv) Girls in lower MA group in E class mark a smaller proportion of their checks in area HPD and a larger proportion on area FG as compared with the lower MA group in Grade VI.

(v) Grade VI and B class girls in the lower CA groups show no significant differences in the distribution and responses in both years.

(vi) Girls in both upper and lower groups for all these variables, except for the lower CA group, give a higher weighting of responses to area BG in B class than in Grade VI.

A further hypothesis is therefore made:

That social awareness is greater in B class than in Grade VI and in the A class is associated with a crop of "new" problems (see Section III below).

2. With regard to the school of origin:-

The chief difference between the two schools-of-origin groups is the marked weight of checking in areas B (Chi-square = 8.66, $p < .01$), and BG (Chi-square = 4.7, $p < .05$), made by the ex-School B girls. Checks in these areas have more than proportionately "stepped-up" at the second testing. For ex-School A girls, the responses have shown an all-round falling off though with slight change in the proportions of checks in the various areas.

III. Common Problems and Constellations

1. Some common problems of Grade VI level are apparently "fading out" by the secondary school, for example numbers 7, 45, 66, 89.

2. New problems appear or former minor problems get noticeably increased numbers of checks, namely numbers 30, 40, 59, 67, 114, 126, 127, 131. Of this group of 8, 6 have a strongly marked "social" quality, for example, "learning to dance," "not allowed to go out with boy friends." There is a tendency for more items in the SG area to occur as "common" problems.
3. "Fear" problems, for example numbers 7, 31, 41, 69, show more decline in checking among ex-School A girls than among ex-School B girls.
4. While about the same numbers of girls still depict themselves as nervous, indecisive, fearful, and failing, two new problems of self-concern are appearing, namely "daydreaming" and "forgetfulness" - which might well be regarded as two facets of the one problem - and "trying to stop a bad habit."
5. Constellations have changed in relative importance (see Tables 15 and 23). . .
 - (a) The two constellations of "attitude to school" and "problems of specific school subjects" show a lessened importance in B class. They receive a combined score of only 17 checks

in the secondary year compared with 34 in the Grade VI year.

- (b) The "leisure" constellation receives significantly more checks than in the previous year.
- (c) The "personal attributes" constellation is now among the major constellations (16 checks against 7 in the primary year).
- (d) The "fear of failure" constellation is the most heavily checked constellation in both years. In brief it seems that while fear of failure remains a source of worry, the provenance of worry about failure is shifting from the school and scholastic demands to extra-scholar and social affairs.

Boys

TABLE 31

Data for Primary and Secondary Boys

	Primary Grade VI	Secondary 1st year (E Class)
Total number of subjects	26	26
Total number of School A subjects	11	7*
Total number of School B subjects	15	19*
Total number of checks	264	295
Total number of items checked	102	113
Number of checks by School A boys	134	45*
Number of checks by School B boys	130	250*
Number of items checked by 25% or more of subjects	9	11

* Indicates ex-School A and ex-School B respectively.

I. Total numbers of checks

1) With regard to the total groups for both years and disregarding the primary school of origin, that is, for 26 subjects in each year there are:-

- (a) no significant differences in the total numbers of checks or the total numbers of specific items checked at the two times of testing.

(b) Significant differences between totals for subjects grouped according to the variables CA, MA, and IQ ($p < .05$) are:-

- (i) boys of below-median CA check significantly less frequently in E class than in Grade VI
- (ii) boys of above-median CA check significantly more frequently in E class than in Grade VI.
That is, younger boys at the time of transition to secondary school appear to develop or recognize fewer problems than older boys at the same educational level.
- (iii) boys of above-median MA check significantly more frequently in the E class than in Grade VI
- (iv) boys of below-median IQ check more frequently in E class than in Grade VI
- (v) boys of above-median IQ check less frequently (borderline significance) in E class than in Grade VI
- (vi) there is no significant difference between the numbers of checks for the below-median MA group in Grade VI and E class.

Two hypotheses may be suggested:

First: that older but less-intelligent boys have more problems than younger but more intelligent boys. (Boys in

the higher IQ group are not necessarily the brightest boys; they score high on IQ because of their comparatively high CA, although they are of only average or below-average IQ.

Second; that intelligence is more important than mental age in producing "freedom" from problems. Higher intelligence may mean more ability to cope with problems or more wariness about stating them.

2) Significant differences in the total numbers of responses are given by the subjects of both the two schools at the two testings:

(a) School A group checks much less frequently in the secondary than in the primary year.

(b) School B group checks much more frequently in the secondary than in the primary year.

II. Distribution of Checks : Hierarchies of Areas

There are but a few, though thought-provoking differences in the importance as sources of problems of the several areas of the Check List as indicated by the proportion of the total checks each receives.

1. For the total groups in both years, regardless of the primary school of origin:

(i) the only major difference is that in B Class the area IG receives a higher proportion of the total checks; though this difference lies just outside

the statistically significant level of $p \leq .05$.

(Chi-square = 3.21, $.1 > p > .05$.)

(ii) In both years areas 3 and MWF dominate, and area

HP is the source of least expressed problems.

2. For the subjects divided medianly for the variables CA, MA, and IQ, significant differences occur with the upper CA, upper MA, lower IQ and higher IQ groups, but not with the lower CA, and lower MA groups; that is, generally speaking, not with the boys who constitute the older but relatively duller group (and for whom higher MA is a function of higher CA). Compared with the primary year, in the secondary year:

(i) the upper CA group gives a higher proportion of checks to area PG (Chi-square = 4.93, $p < .05$.)

(ii) The lower IQ group tends to have a higher proportion of its checks in area PG and a lower proportion of its checks in area 3 (Chi-square = 2.94, $p > .1$).

(iii) The upper IQ gives a lower proportion of its checks to area SC (Chi-square = 4.81, $p < .05$).

(iv) The upper MA group just exceeds the $p \leq .05$ level of significance for difference in number of checks on areas SC (lower in the secondary year)

and HPD (higher in the secondary year).

Considering the significant differences in both totals of checks and distribution of checks, a further hypothesis may be made, that:

as older, duller boys pass into the secondary school, the number of their expressed problems increases, and these problems are likely to show most increase in the areas PJ and S.

This may be due to a lessening of constant pressure on academic success - for example the cessation of the weekly test and the placement of pupils in "streams" according to their level of ability - and to the immediate and developing conscious need of the boy to establish himself as an adequate person in the broader environment and activities of the secondary school. Boys who are both younger and brighter (see p. 239) indicate less overt anxiety than the other boys, especially in the area of SC, suggesting a capacity for easier adjustment and less feeling of inadequacy in meeting the demands of the new situation.

These inferences are supported by the patterns of changes shown in relation to common problems and constellations of problems.

III. Common Problems and Constellations

1. Certain "common" problems of the primary year show a marked decline as problems in the secondary year, and some have disappeared, namely items 2, 6, 7, 89, 112/113.
2. Other items appear as "new" problems or with increased numbers of checks, namely items 41, 60, 68, 121, 126.
3. In keeping with the overall pattern for the whole Check List, ex-School A boys tend to show decreased concern with "common" problems, much more so than ex-School B boys who, as might be expected, tend to show increased concern.
4. Constellations have changed in "worry-importance":
 - (a) worry about home attitudes is negligible in the B class group
 - (b) concern over personal attributes is appearing in A class
 - (c) constellations "health," "money," and "leisure" have strengthened significantly in importance by B class.

TABLE 32

Comparison of Checks for Major Constellations

Primary and Secondary Boys

Constellation	Health	School attitude	Specific subject	Fear of Failure	Home attitude	Money	Work & Future	Leisure	Social Rel.	Personal attitude
Grade VI (N=26)	24	27	19	21	16	23	27	24	14	5 (201)
E Class (N=26)	34	27	13	20	6	31	26	37	21	12 (221)

* Grade VI: Work = 11

Future = 16

E Class: Work = 17

Future = 9

The nature of the MWP problems for the two years is essentially different. There are few focal problems in the primary year. The most common one is "wanting to earn some of my own money." "Spending money foolishly" and "deciding what to take in high school" are next in importance. The remaining checks are scattered over a wide range of items of which only the most-checked are shown below. (Table 33) However, with the E class boys there is greater concentration on a small group of problems which suggest two sub-areas of anxiety, one relating to the choosing of a job and the other to the immediate desire for money and independence.

This suggests a further hypothesis: that accompanying the transition from primary to secondary school boys show a change in the nature of their forward-looking-ness; their attention is more job-orientated and they want more independence, especially in getting and controlling money.

TABLE 33
Chief MWF Problems

Grade VI Boys		B Class Boys	
Item	No. Choosing	Item	No. Choosing
Wanting to earn more of my own money	7	Wanting to earn more of my own money	7
Spending money foolishly	5	Wanting to buy more of my own things	7
Deciding what to take in high school	5	Too little spending money	4
Wanting advice on what to do after high school	4	Family worried about money	4
Needing to know what job I'm best at	4	Needing a part-time job now	4
Too little spending money	3	Having no regular pocket money	3
		Wanting to know more about jobs	8
		Wanting advice on what to do after high school	3
		Needing to know what job I'm best at	4

Comparison of Schools

See Appendix II

The Primary School Subjects

In Grade VI the School A boys check a significantly higher total number of problems than do the School B boys, but the patterns of distribution of checks over the areas for both schools is not statistically different (Chi-square = 2.66, $p > .05$) (see Fig. 1).

Only in areas HP and SC are there "threats" to the pattern, though not to a statistically significant degree.

School A boys, then, younger chronologically and mentally than School B boys, but in school attainment and intellectual capacity comparable with them, appear to differ only in that they indicate more of the same kind of problems than the School B boys (Chi-square = 8.676, $df = 1$, $p < .01$).

A similar pattern holds for the girls (see Fig. 2)!. As for the boys, there are for the two schools comparable levels of school attainment and IQ but slighter differences in IA and CA than occurred with the boys. Again, the hierarchies of problem areas for the two schools are not significantly different (Chi-square = 7.76, $df = 6$, $p > .3$) but the School A girls have a higher frequency of checks

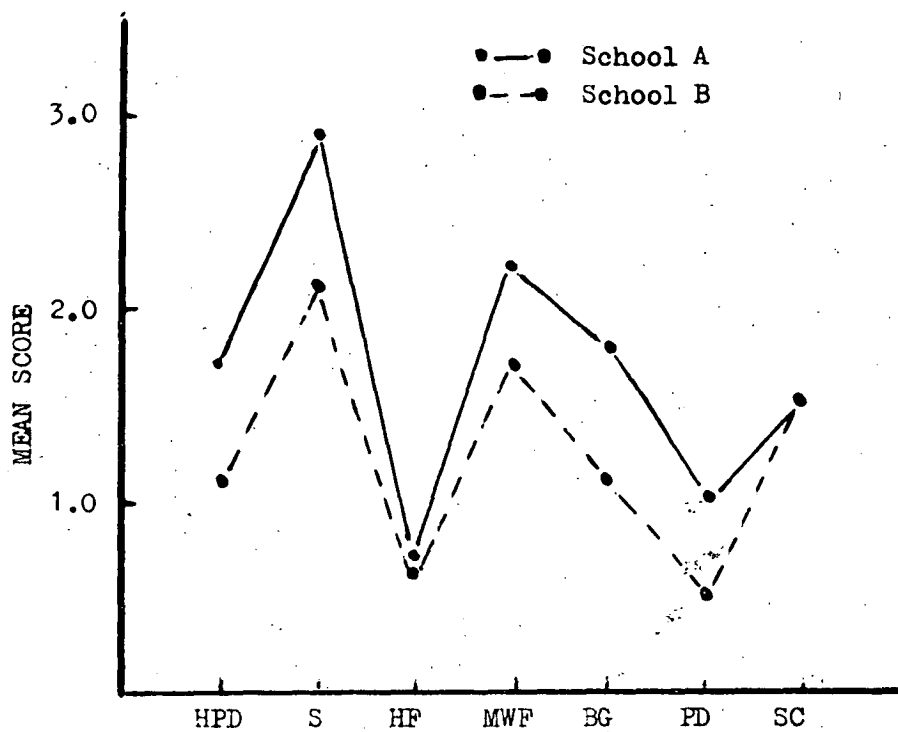


Fig. 1. Boys, Grade VI

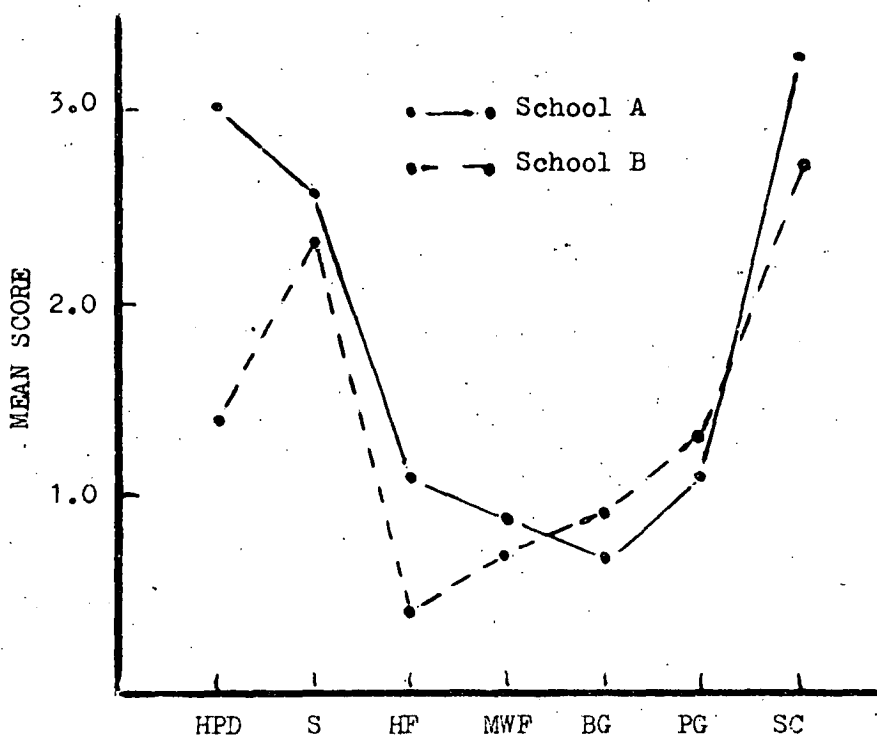


Fig. 2. Girls, Grade VI

than the School B girls ($p < .01$) and tend to check more often, on the average, in the area HPD.

This higher checking could be a function of environmental factors or of chronological and/or mental age. The fact that the higher checking occurs with both sexes though the chronological and mental age differences between schools are dissimilar for the sexes, inclines one to the idea that environmental factors are the chief contributors. Over the years the Grade VI children of School A tend consistently to be, on the average, chronologically and mentally younger than, though intellectually comparable with, their grade-equivalents at School B. They are probably facing the demands of the final primary year at a slightly earlier level of development and from a more rural and less sophisticated milieu: School A has a country tradition and is smaller in size than School B. The probable consequence is that transition to a large suburban secondary school looms anticipatorily as more dramatic, and perhaps more threatening to the School A children.

There is a further difference in the experiences of the children from the two schools in that the children of School A have as the class-teacher the Headmaster who is not infrequently called away on administrative duties: the

children of School B are taught by staff members who are seldom absent from their classes. The School A children are therefore accustomed to having to control and direct their own behaviour and work whereas the School B children are constantly under direction and supervision. It is likely that these two patterns of classroom administration promote differences in awareness, sense of responsibility, and anxiety, and it may well be that the children of School A are more accustomed to think for themselves, more conscious of their problems, and more able and ready to admit them.

It would seem consistent to expect that their practice in accepting self-responsibility would help them in their adjustment to the process of transition and may account in part for the drop in the number of problems they claim to have - in contrast to the increase in the number of problems for the children of the other school - in their secondary year.

The Secondary School Subjects

The changes in the check totals of the children of each of the two schools after entering secondary school, are inverse (see Table 34, and Figs. 3 and 4). The B class children from School A appear less problem-laden than previously or they are less ready to admit to problems.

TABLE 34

Comparison of Checks : Total Groups from Grade VI and E Class

Year	Boys				Girls			
	School A		School B		School A		School B	
	Total No. of checks	Av. per boy	Total No. of checks	Av. per Boy	Total No. of checks	Av. per girl	Total No. of checks	Av. per girl
Grade VI	134 (N=11)	12.2	130 (N=15)	8.7	89 (N=7)	12.7	172 (N=19)	9.1
E Class	45 (N=7)	6.4	250 (N=19)	13.2	37 (N=6)	6.2	305 (N=19)	16.1

Subjects Marking the Check List in both Grade VI and E Class

Grade VI	98	14.0	107	8.2	71	11.9	150	8.8
E Class	45	6.4	147	10.8	37	6.2	240	14.1

On the other hand E class children from School B express significantly more problems than children of the same school in Grade VI. Perhaps the more regimented nature of their primary school gives rise, while they are there, to fewer feelings of immediate inadequacy, less awareness of problems or less willingness to reveal problems, and leaves them with less flexibility and initiative to meet the changes of transition.

Nor is this a matter simply of group changes, with the possibility that gross changes in numbers of checks by a few individuals have inordinately influenced the group picture. Of the 13 School A children (males and females combined) and the 30 School B children who repeated the test, 10 children from School A have decreased their scores and 20 children from School B have increased theirs. The direction of changes in the total numbers of problems shown by children who answered the Check List on both occasions are:-

School	No. of subjects	No. with increased score	No. with decreased score	Sign Test p =
A	13	3	10	.046 (1-tail)
B	30	20	10	.051 (1-tail)

The hierarchy of areas for the ex-School A and ex-School B boys is not statistically significantly different, both in the comparison of each school with the other and in the comparison of each school with itself for the two successive years. However the difference in distributions for the School B girls of the two years approaches statistical significance (Chi-square = 11.89, df 6, $.1 > p > .05$).

It is obvious that in comparing the actual numbers of checks per area there have been some changes in emphasis. There is little change in emphasis for the boys from School B, but the ex-School A boys show a significantly bigger drop in the numbers of checks for problems related to school ($p < .001$) than for problems in any other areas (see Fig. 13).

There is more shift in emphasis with the girls (see Fig. 14)). Though, according to statistical tests of significance, the hierarchical distributions of ex-School A and ex-School B girls cannot be deemed to be different, yet in terms of actual numbers of checks per girl, ex-School A girls are significantly less concerned than previously with problems in areas HPD and SC and show most worry in area S, while ex-School B girls indicate more concern with problems of SC, PG, and PC than formerly, and do not indicate area S as their main source of problems.

One might well expect such developments, and such

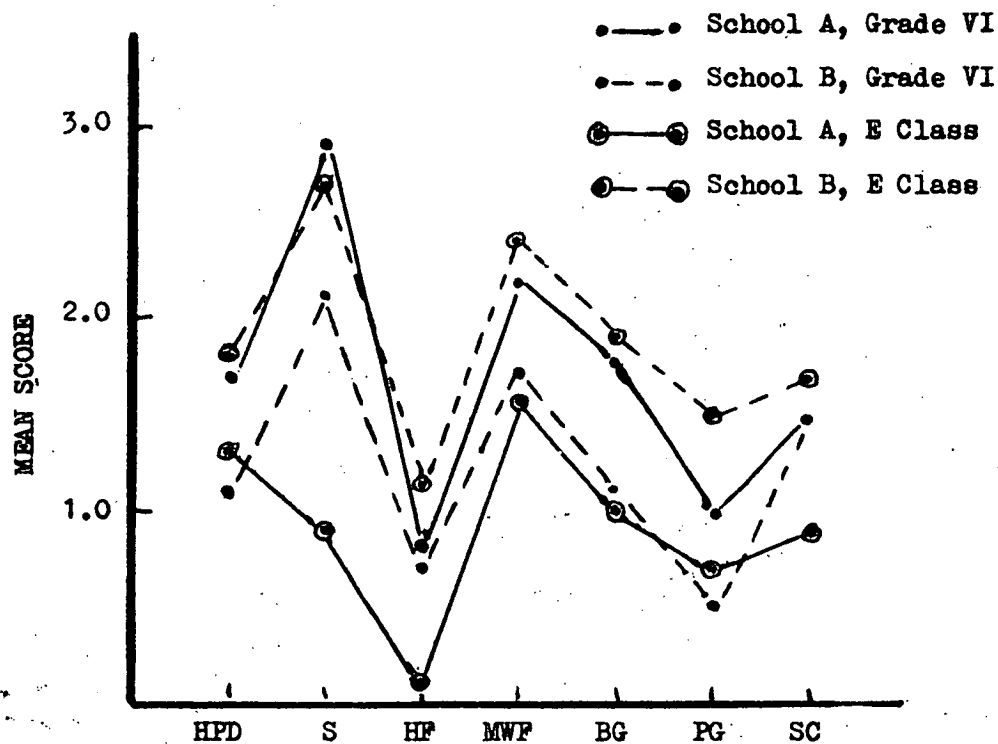


Fig. 3. Boys, Grade VI and E Class

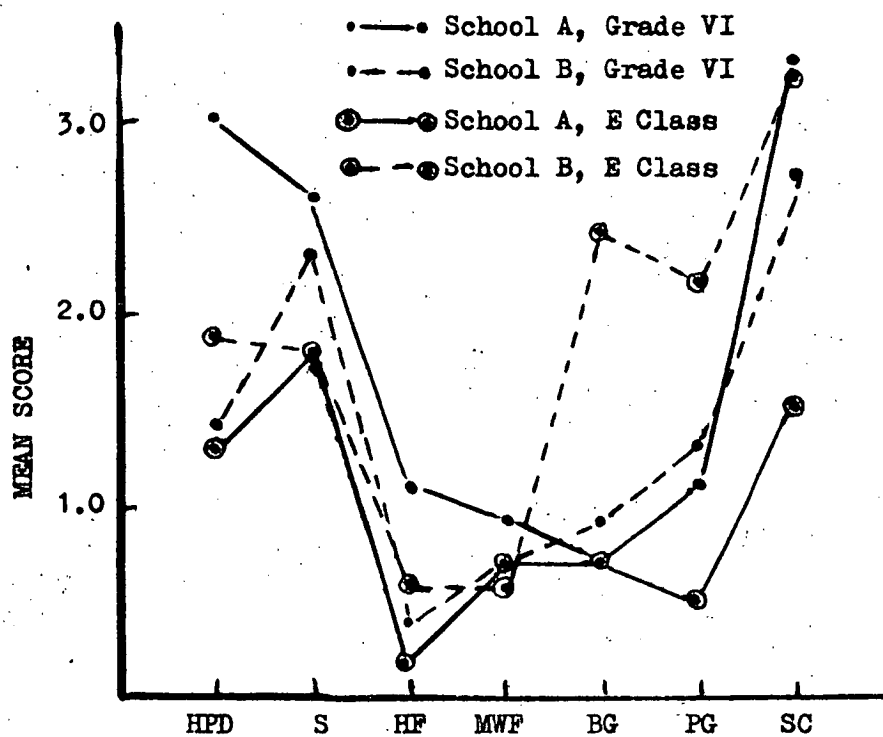


Fig. 4. Girls, Grade VI and E Class

differences between the two groups of girls. With the ex-School B girls - higher in CA and HA, living in an "old" urban area, attending an "old" town-school, being more "townified" and living in close contact with neighbours - one could expect to find an increasing awareness of problems dealing with social relationships. Similarly, one might expect, from a younger group from a rural or semi-rural area and with a less sophisticated background, a rather later development of problems of this kind. At the same time, admission to secondary school with its consequent broadening of responsibility even in such matters as coping with demanding travel arrangements, would probably call on their experiences in self-reliance and give them a sense of increased freedom and independence, so leading to a drop in the numbers of these sorts of problems in the areas HPD and SC.

Summary

(1) Pupils from Schools A and B show a distinct difference in problem-checking before and after transition to the secondary school. The ratio of problems for the two school groups changes inversely.

(2) There are some shift in emphasis on specific areas of the list in terms of actual numbers of checks for both boys and girls of the two schools.

Check List - Comparison of Sexes

(See Appendix II)

The checking patterns of the two sexes differ at both times of testing. Since male and female groups do not match for such factors as numbers from each school, age, and level of intelligence, to attempt to compare them without attention to these variables may be to ignore important influences. For example, the Grade VI girls' group of 26 contains only 7 School A pupils, compared with 11 in the group of the 26 Grade VI boys. Previous discussion has shown differences between children of School A and School B regardless of sex in their production on the Check List, and so the relative weightings of the schools in the two sex groups may produce what would otherwise appear to be sex differences.

However, as a starting point a comparison is made of the otherwise undifferentiated sex groups. Following this the patterns, with other variables introduced, are reconsidered.

Grade VI Subjects (Appendix II; Figs. 5-13)

The average number of total checks for both sexes are very similar; 26 girls check a total of 261 items, 26 boys check a total of 235 items - an average of 10.0 for the girls, 10.96 for the boys. However on looking at how the

checks are allocated over the specific areas of the List, it is obvious that for, first, these undifferentiated groups (see Fig. 5), and later for groups where the variables of School, CA, MA and IQ are introduced, the patterns of check-distribution by the two sexes in all cases show some differences, statistically sufficient to make the null hypothesis untenable. In some cases, for these variables, there are also marked differences in the total numbers of checks made by the groups.

The areas responded to differently by boys and girls, that is, those receiving significantly higher or lower proportions of the total checks ($p < .05$), and indicating therefore, differing emphases or relative degrees of concern, are shown in Appendix II, Table 92, and Figs. 6-13.

The Undifferentiated Sex Groups

Both the undifferentiated boys' group and the undifferentiated girls' group appear to react similarly to area S (see Fig. 5) as the area of most concern (23.9 per cent of the boys' total checks, 23.4 per cent of the girls') - though for the girls area S is equalled by area SC. Area HF is the least evocative area (7.7 per cent and 6.1 per cent for boys and girls respectively); and HED, the only other area of noteworthy shared importance, receives 13.3 per cent of the boys' checks and 14.6 per cent of the girls' (not statistically

different (see Appendix II., Tables 92-93).

The marked discrepancy between the groups' responses are in the areas LVP, M, and U and to a lesser extent (of borderline statistical significance) in B. LVP figures much more strongly in the boys' pattern and they tend also to react more strongly to items in area B. The girls figure high on areas U and M where they average almost twice as many checks as the boys.

These similarities and differences seem quite logical and tenable. School is very much the focus of attention for both sexes. Weekly tests are recurrent goals, hurdles and sources of punishment. The subjects still have some four years of obligatory school attendance ahead of them. Degree of success in the primary school influences how the subject will be streamed in the secondary school. Strong emphasis is usually placed on school success by primary school teachers who have a teaching reputation to maintain in the face of criticisms by secondary school teachers who receive their on-pupils.

On the other hand cultural expectations for the two sexes are different, and apparently already recognised as such by the children. Boys are to become the overt community leaders and the breadwinners and are to concern themselves with future success in the realms of money and work: girls may be expected

to achieve their success in marriage for which attention to one's self and person and concern with social acceptability and demands are appropriate.

Not only do the degrees of importance of the individual areas differ for the sexes, but so also do the specific items achieving importance within the areas. The only MWP item which presents itself at all frequently as a problem for the girls is "deciding what to take in high school" (6 checks). The boys worry over this too (5 checks) and take it rather further by "wanting advice on what to do after high school" (4 checks), and "needing to know what job I am best at" (4 checks); but they also worry about "spending money foolishly" (5 checks) and "having too little spending money." (It will be seen later that these worries spread and are elaborated the next year.)

In relation to themselves (area 36) the girls are troubled chiefly by their nervousness (11), their fear of making mistakes (8), their failure in things they do (6), their inability to make up their minds (6), their capacity for getting into trouble (5), their bad examination results (5); and a fair sprinkling more are worried about their bad habits, dishonesty, and feelings of shame. Fewer boys are perturbed by these things: 5 worry about being nervous, 5 about getting

too excited, and 4 about "having bad dreams", and "trying to stop a bad habit". The other "bete noires" of the girls apparently bother them not at all.

Are these sex patterns (both the differences and the similarities) so basic that they persist regardless of other variables and continue on into the secondary school?

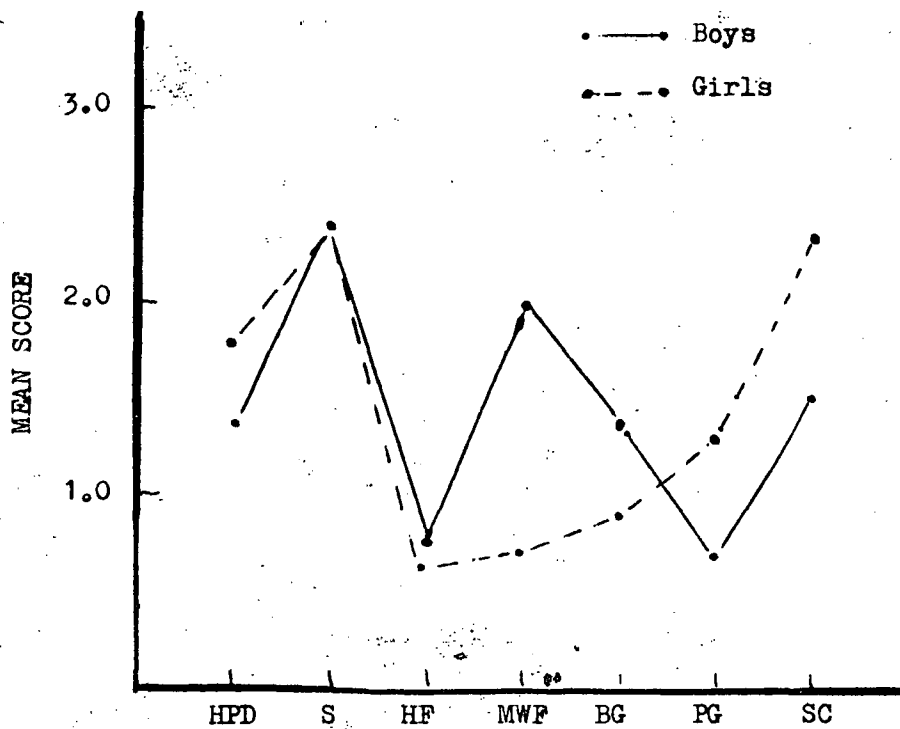


Fig. 5. Boys and girls, Grade VI

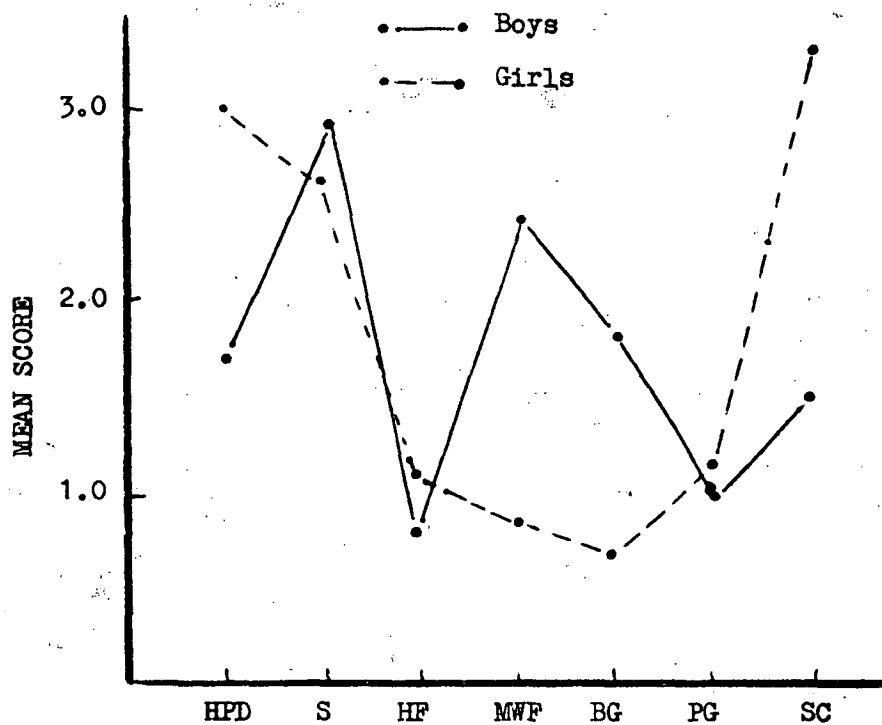


Fig. 6. School A, Grade VI

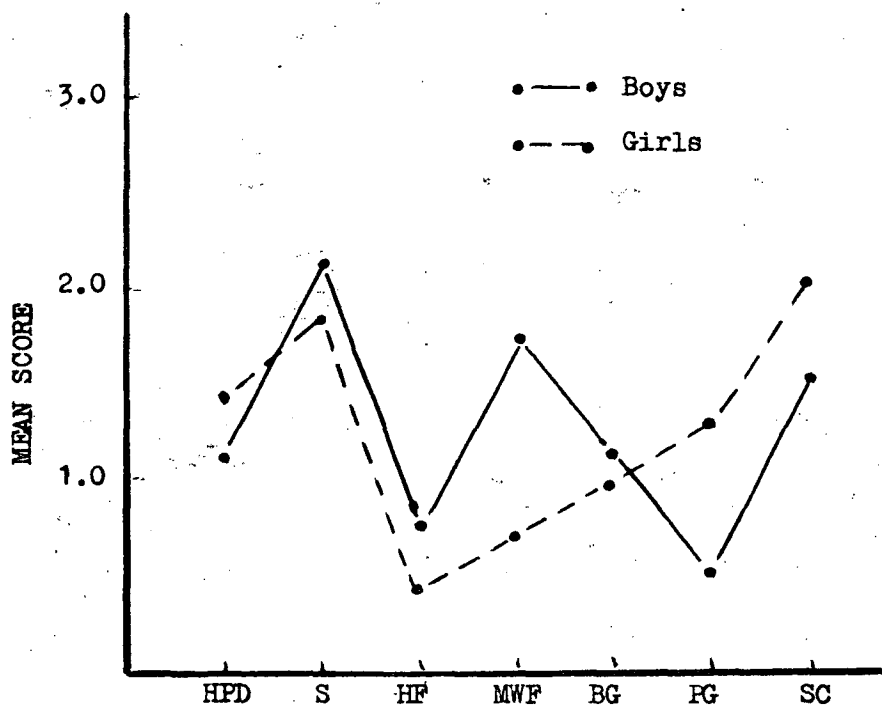


Fig. 7. School B, Grade VI

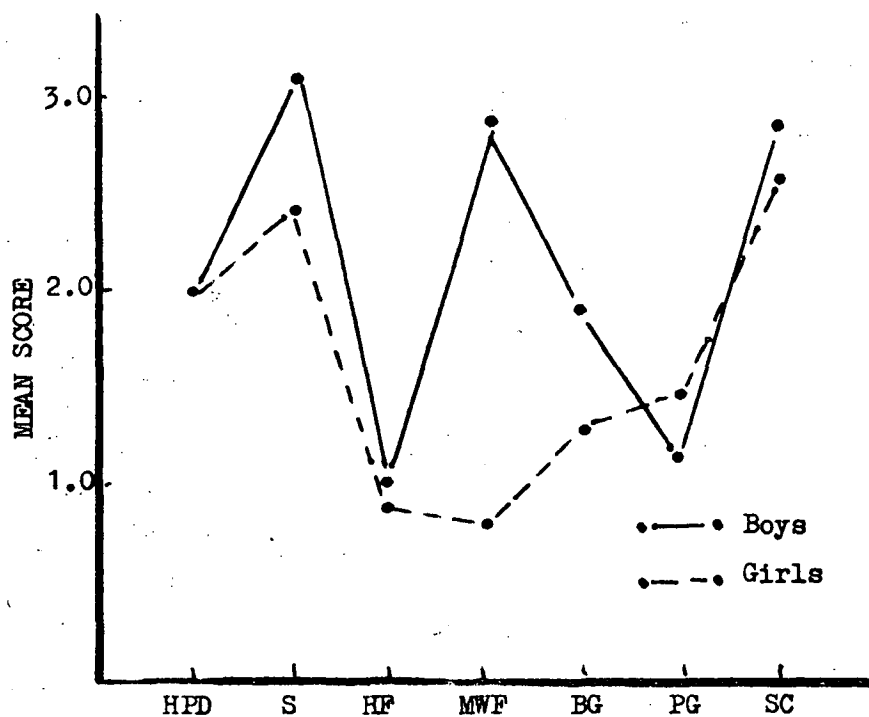


Fig. 8. Grade VI, below median CA

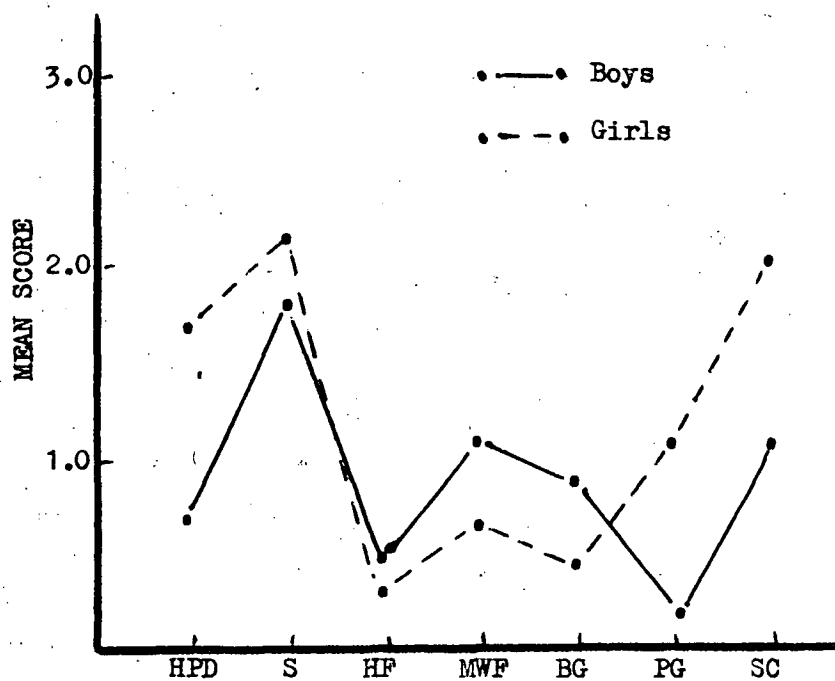


Fig. 9. Grade VI, above median CA

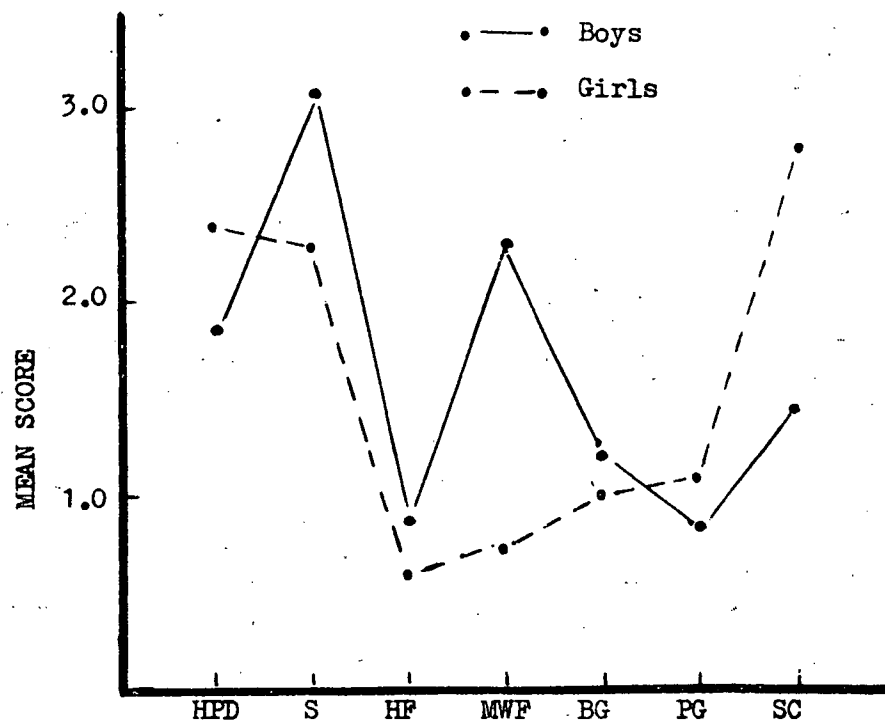


Fig. 10. Grade VI, below median MA

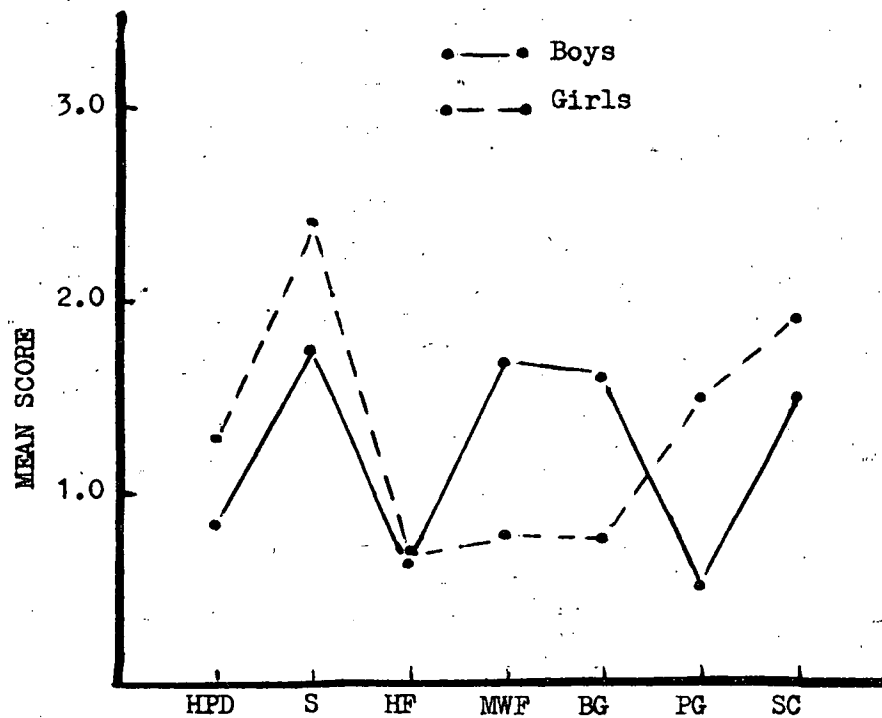


Fig. 11. Grade VI, above median MA

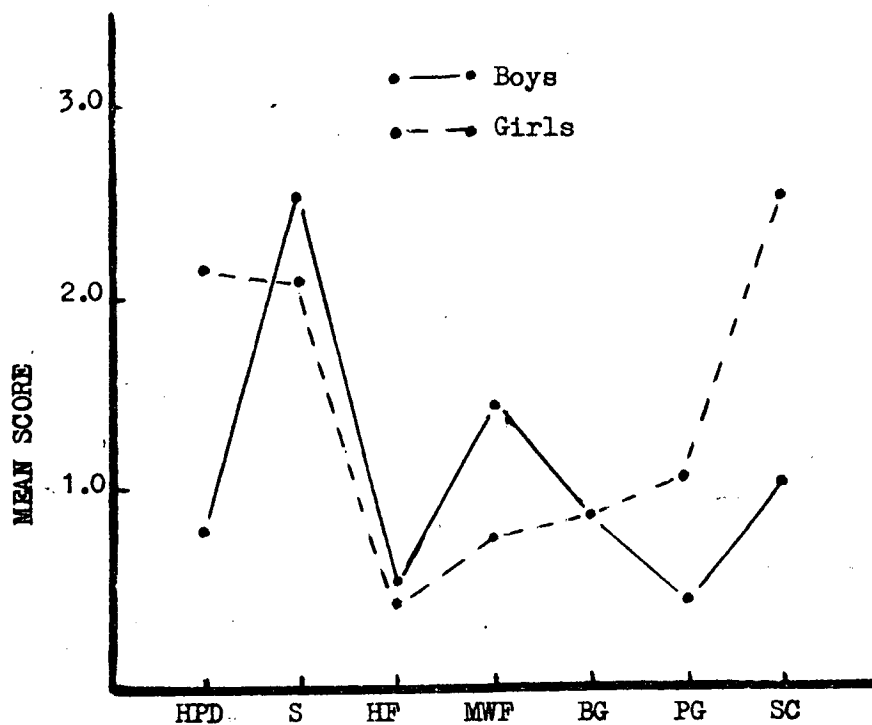


Fig. 12. Grade VI, below median IQ

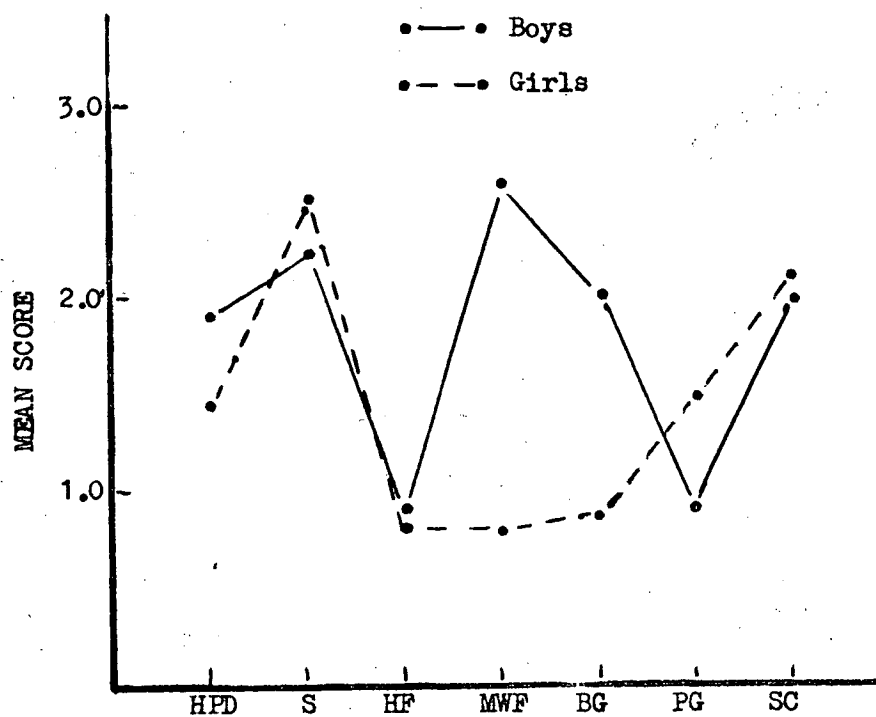


Fig. 13. Grade VI, above median IQ

Other Variables Introduced (see Figs. 6-13. . and Appendix II)

For all the variables - School, CA, MA, and IQ:

(1) Both sexes consistently give a high proportion of their checks to area S and a low proportion to area HP. Area HPF is linked with more concern for the boys than for the girls of all sub-groups except the chronologically older subjects and the lower IQ groups except the chronologically older subjects and the lower IQ group where the level of significance falls just short of the set limit of $p < .5$ but where the trend is still for boys to check HPF items more frequently than the girls do.¹

(2) Responses to area BG are significantly higher in frequency for boys than girls of all groups except School A and the lower CA, MA, and IQ groups. For both sexes approximately 60 per cent of the items checked in this area refer to restrictions and limitations placed on leisure activities (for example, "nothing interesting to do in my spare time"; "not allowed out at night"; "not enough time for play and fun"), and approximately 30 per cent refer

1. Predicting that, in line with the results of the undifferentiated groups, the direction of difference would be for boys to score higher than girls, the region of direction would be one-tailed, chi-square (3.33 for below-median group and 2.01 for above-median CA groups) would in each case be significant at the level $p < .05$ and would therefore lead to rejection of the null hypothesis.

to heterosexual relationships (for example, "girls/boys don't seem to like me," "deciding whether I'm in love"). However, from the significantly higher absolute numbers of checks and the higher proportion of the total checks given to items of the first type by the older and mentally superior and more mature boys, it may be inferred that they, more often than the girls, question the restrictions imposed on them. This may be associated too, with the cultural pattern of a society where with developing maturity the male expects, and is expected, to submit less to the close confinement of the home and to parental jurisdiction.

(9) Areas SC and PG. The weighting of responses to area SC is higher for girls than boys in the lower groups of the population divided medianly according to CA, MA, and IQ. Though in the upper groups there is almost no difference in weighting by the two sexes for area SC, a significant difference does occur with these groups for area PG which again weights higher for girls than boys. These two areas are largely supplementary. Being "nervous," "over-excited," "afraid," "ashamed," "a failure," etc. (self-concern items) are as personal as, and may well contribute to "being teased," "being disliked," "being talked about," etc. (PG items), though these latter items do seem to indicate a more obvious measurement of the self against social acceptability. If this argument is acceptable, then it seems that the older and mentally more able

girls are more outward-turned and have greater awareness of society's reactions than the younger and mentally inferior girls. But with the two areas SC and PG taken in conjunction, the girls consistently exhibit more anxiety about their "personal- and social" self than do the boys. (It is noteworthy that the School A girls are "up" on SC and the School B girls on PG. Is this a difference arising from school atmosphere? School A with a rural background and smaller classes tends to have more of the "big family" atmosphere - hence a social closeness; School B is a loosely-knit city school with the emphasis on competition and personal success - every man for himself. So it could be expected that School B pupils might register more problems related to achieving social standing, and the School A pupils, more assured of group acceptance and less competitive, might be more concerned with their own critical estimates of themselves.)

(4) Other differences:

(a) Older boys have a lower frequency of problems than older girls, younger girls, and younger boys.

While there is little to choose between the checking of the younger and older girls, when the older boys and younger boys are compared one notes a consistent and marked "poverty" in the checking by the older boys of problems in all areas.

This may be due to the older boys having a reassuring sense of physical fitness (they have a relatively negligible number of IHD problems) and of their importance as "kings" in the primary school - feeling presumably not shared by the older girls. (And here it is of interest to note that of the 9 older boys who repeated the test the following year, only 2 showed any noticeable change in the number of problems checked, 1 increasing and 1 decreasing his score.) Certainly the difference in problem numbers between older and younger boys cannot be attributed to correlation between CA and IQ - since the older boys are divided fairly evenly between the upper and lower IQ groups - though it may be associated with mental maturity for which there is a rather closer identity of groups (9 of the 13 above-median boys are members of the upper IQ group).

(b) Brighter boys have a higher frequency of problems than brighter girls.

As in the case of the older and younger girls above, duller and brighter girls also have closely similar totals of checks, namely 133 and 128 respectively. (There is, incidentally, not a close correspondence between groups of girls divided according to CA and IQ; 5 of the 13 girls in the lower CA group are in the upper IQ group.) On the contrary, totals

for the boys' groups divided according to IQ differ considerably, namely, 100 and 151 respectively. So that although there is a significant difference between the scores of the brighter girls and boys, the fact of greater importance is probably that of the comparative constancy or evenness of the girls' groups and the marked variation of the boys' groups.

Summary - Grade VI Subjects

1. Certain basic differences and similarities exist in the patterns of responses of boys and girls without regard to other variables:-

- (a) School is the chief area of problems for both sexes.
- (b) Boys differ from girls in that they experience a relatively higher proportion of their problems in relation to the economic and material demands of future work and income.
- (c) Girls exhibit a proportionately greater concern than boys with problems of personal attractiveness and social reactions and acceptability.

2. Though the two schools are associated with some differences in patterns of problems (see pp. 265-273), nevertheless there are similarities between the groups of the same sex from the two schools. For example, School A and School B girls

have comparable areas of "more-problems" and "less problems" though the actual numbers of problems for each of the paired groups may differ noticeably. So although School A girls have significantly more problems than School B girls, the problems are distributed in a similar pattern.

3. Above- and below-median groups of girls for variables CA, MA, and IQ, show much comparability, but similar groups of boys vary considerably in the frequency of problem-checking.

The Secondary School Subjects (E Class) : see Appendix II, Figs, 14-22.

The Undifferentiated Sex Groups. Briefly, the overall patterns of the two sexes in the secondary school groups have much in common with those of the preceding year's primary school subjects: the total numbers of problems are similar, 25 girls checking 285 problems (average 11.3) and 26 boys checking 295 problems (average 11.3), areas MWP and SC continuing to produce significantly different reactions from the two sexes (Fig. 14).

However there are also new features in the patterns of sex differences in area MWP where the boys indicate two core problems, namely, a need for help in job selection and a need of immediate regular income (see p. 264), the girls indicate neither core problems nor variety of problems. The nearest they come to

"common" problems in this area are "not knowing what I really want" (4 checks), and "wondering if I'll ever get married," (3 checks).

Details of chief items marked as problems in area MWP by the two sexes are:-

Boys (N=26)

Item	No. checking
Wanting to earn some of my own money	7
Wanting to buy more of my own things	7
Wanting to know more about jobs	8
Needing to know what job I'm best at	4
Wanting advice on jobs	3
Too little spending money	4
Family worried about money	4
Needing a part-time job now	4
Having no regular pocket money	3

Girls (N=25)

Item	No. Checking
Wanting to earn some of my own money	3
Not knowing what I really want	4

The balance is reversed for area SC. Here five main problems emerge only one of which (dishonesty) is at all

pronounced for the boys - and this is the one alone that is not at all pronounced for the girls. On the other four the girls consistently outnumber the boys by two checks to one.

Details of the main problems checked by the two sexes in area SC are:-

Item	No. Checking	
	Boys (N=26)	Girls (N=25)
Nervous	5	12
Affraid of making mistakes	4	8
Trying to stop a bad habit	5	10
Can't make up my mind	3	6
Sometimes not being as honest as I should be	7	3

In area S there is a falling-off in the numbers of problems for both sexes. From 61 out of a total of 261 problems (23.4 per cent) in Grade VI, the girls now place only 45 out of a total of 283 (15.9 per cent) in this area - a statistically significant difference ($p < .05$). The difference for the boys is much less - 63 out of a total of 264 (23.9 per cent) in Grade VI compared with 58 out of a total of 295 (19.7 per cent) in E class - statistically not significant ~~only at the level~~ $.2 > p > .3$ (Chi-square 1.213).

School presents problems to the girls primarily because of its potential to produce failure, but for the boys it presents problems of both potential failure and personal restriction. So the checks for main school worries are:-

For the girls	No. of checks	For the boys	No. of checks
Afraid of failing	9	Not getting along with the teacher	7
Afraid of tests	8	Made to take subject I don't like	6
Trouble with arithmetic	6	Too little freedom	4
Afraid to speak up in class	6	Dull classes	4
		Afraid of failing	6
		Trouble with arithmetic	7
		Trouble with writing	5

Area S remains, together with area MWF, of prime importance as a source of problems for the boys, but for the girls is much inferior to SC as an area of problems producing only a little more than half the checks given to SC and ranking about equal in importance with areas BG, PG, and HPD. The significant build-up in problems for the girls is in area BG ($p < .01$; see p. 252) whereas the boys tend to show a heightened interest in PG problems ($.1 > p > .05$; see p. 258). Increases in both these areas suggest heightening of social awareness, but one which is more strongly heterosexual in the girls than in the boys.

For the boys, the development of area PG as a source of problems, and the trend (though not statistically significant) towards increased problems in area B3, suggest the emergence of social awareness, an awareness of the need to establish one's status in the new group. This may be an egocentric rather than a socio-centric task stimulated by the example and the threat of dominance of older boys now being met in the secondary school. The boys are still reacting strongly against restrictions (area B4) but there is not much sign of anxiety about heterosexual situations.

There is a difference, too, in the general nature of the HFD problems marked by boys and girls. The boys' problems are largely health problems and probably are associated with the "growth spurt" which often occurs round this age. The girls' worries include concern with features that count in getting social acceptance, especially heterosexual acceptance.

These attitudes can be more clearly seen when the chief items marked as problems are taken in detail.

Area	Boys	No. check- ing	Girls	No. check- ing
P1	Being left out of things	4	Wishing people liked me better	6
	Being teased	4	Too few nice clothes	6
	Missing someone (sex unspecified)	3	Getting into arguments	5
	Awkward in meeting people	3	Never chosen as leader	4
	Picking wrong kind of friends	3	Missing someone very much	4
	Embarrassed by talk about sex	3	Losing temper	4
			Being gay	4
B3	Not allowed to go out with girl friends	3	Not allowed out with boys	6
	Not allowed out at night	9	Not allowed out at night	5
	Nothing interesting to do in spare time	7	Learning to dance	6
	Not allowed to run round with kids I like	3	Boys don't like me	4
	Learning to dance	7	Deciding whether I'm in love	4
			Keeping neat and looking nice	5
			Nothing interesting to do in spare time	4
HEP	Not hungry for meals	6	Not good looking	6
	Trouble with teeth	4	Too fat or too thin	5
	Often have sore throat	4	Too short	3
	Not as strong as some others	4	Have headaches	4
			Often have sore throat	3
			Not hungry for meals	3

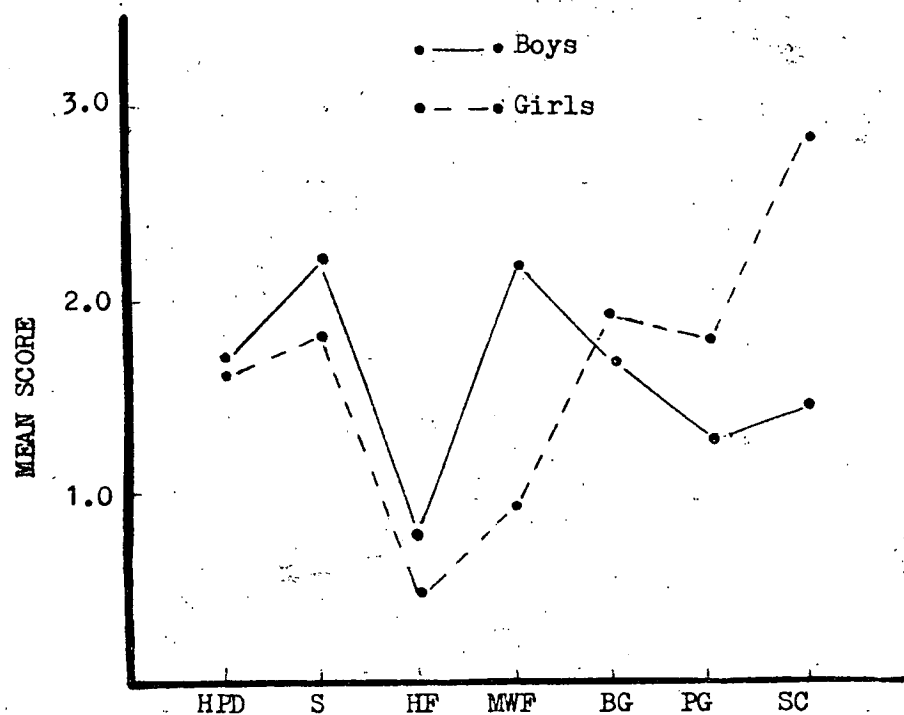


Fig. 14. Boys and girls, E Class

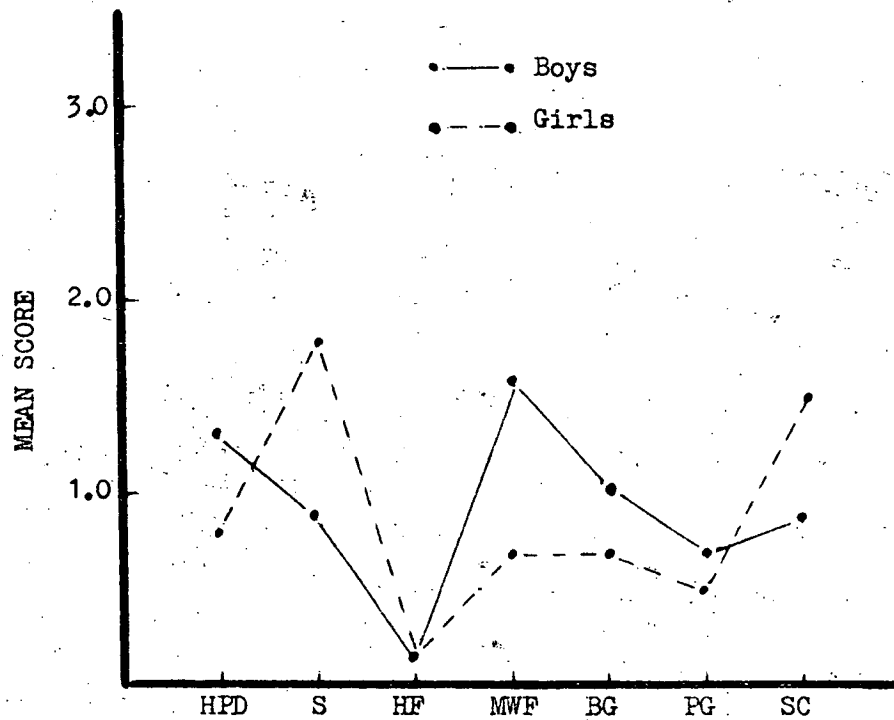


Fig. 15. ex-School A, E Class

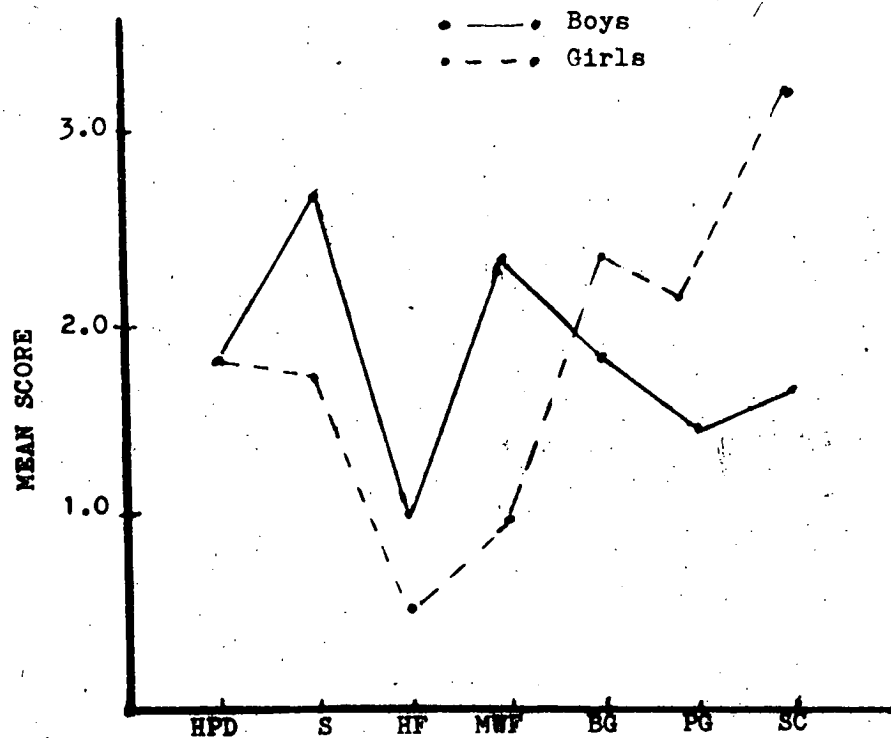


Fig. 16. ex-School B, E Class

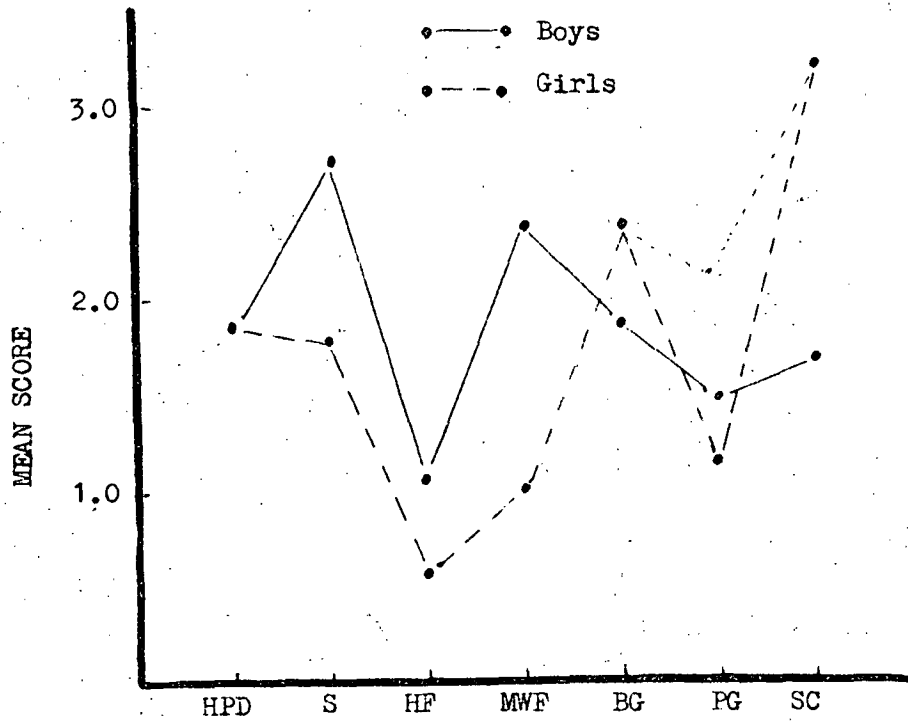


Fig. 16. ex-School B, E Class

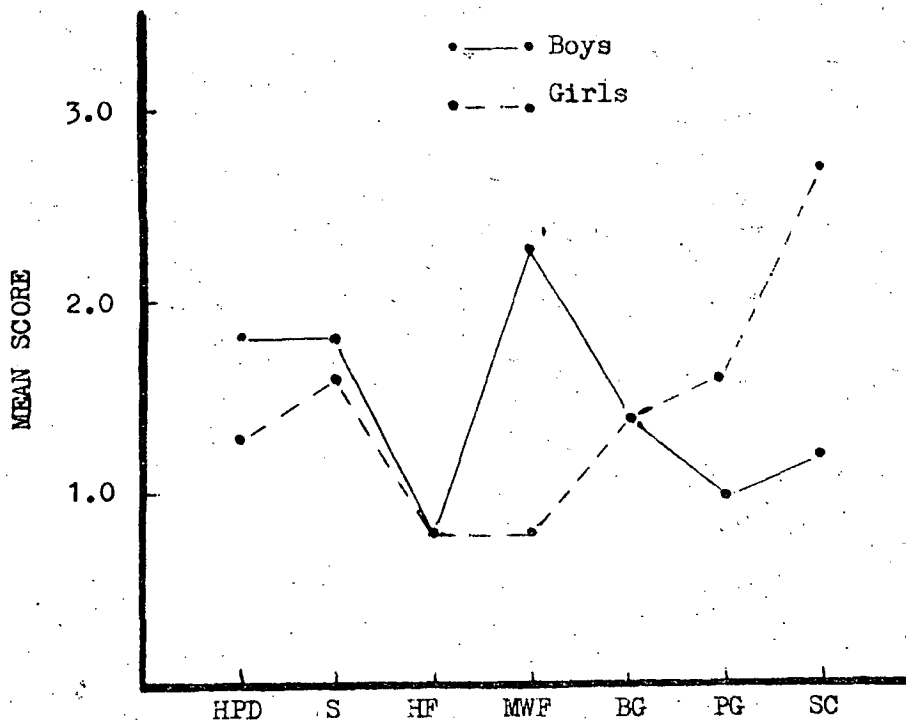


Fig. 17. E Class, below median CA

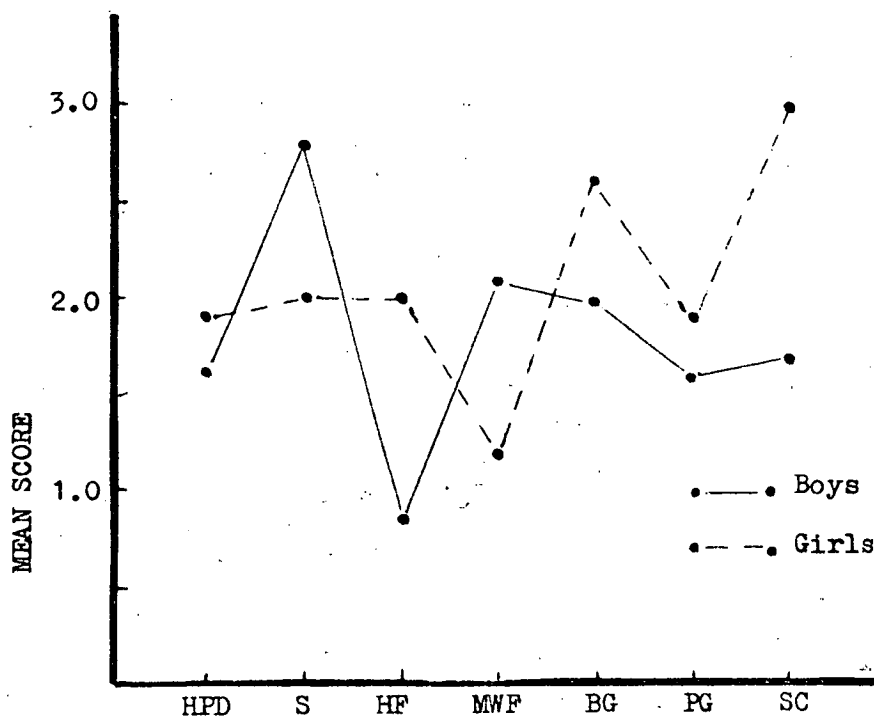


Fig. 18. E Class, above median CA

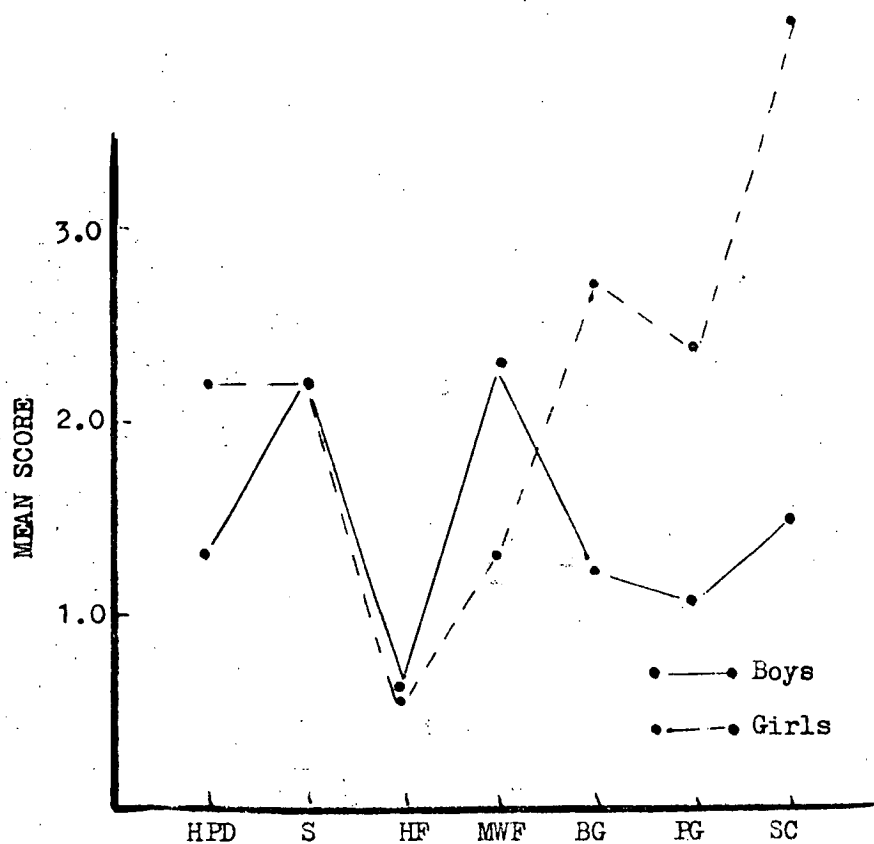


Fig. 19. E Class below median MA

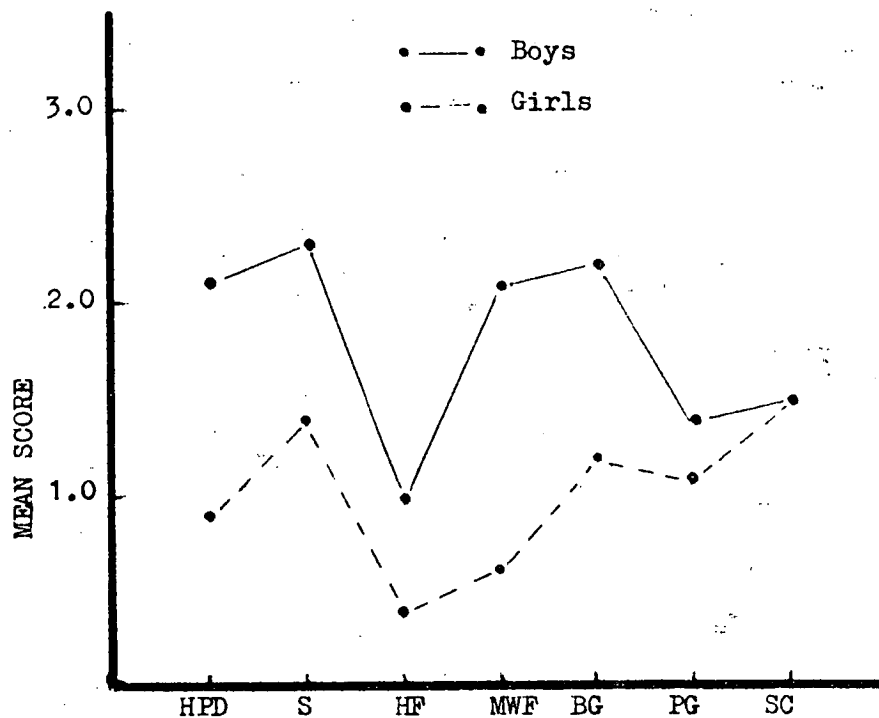


Fig. 20. E Class, above median MA

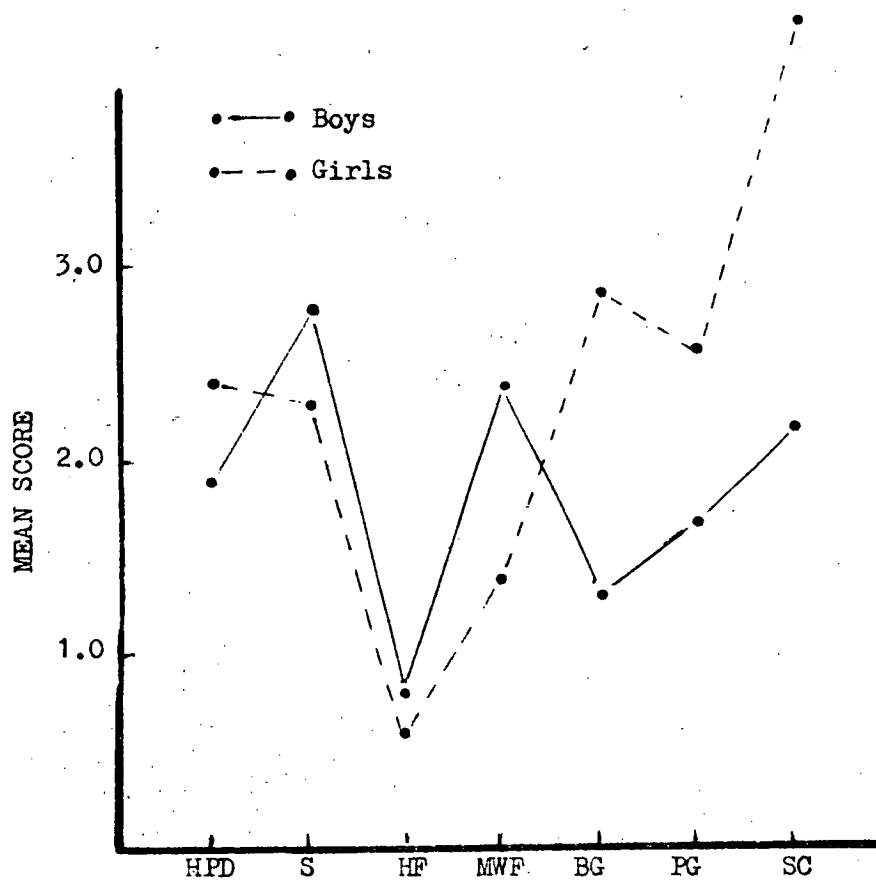


Fig. 21. E Class, below median IQ

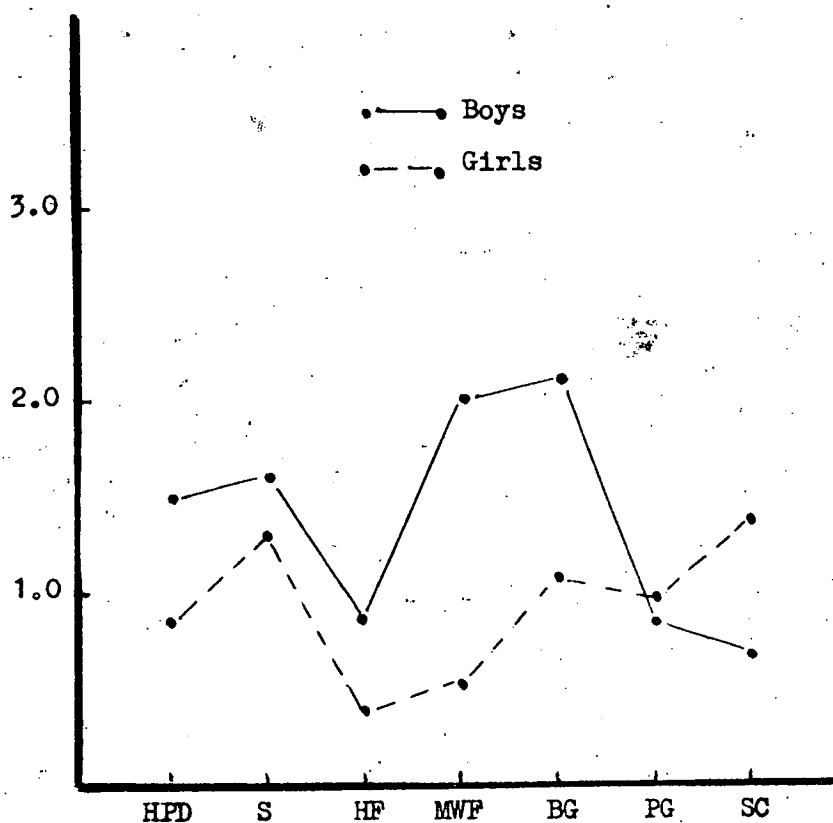


Fig. 22. E Class, above median IQ

Other Variables Introduced - School, CA, MA, IQ (See Figs. 15-22)

1. Areas LWP and SC persist as areas differentially scored by the two sexes through all the sub-groups established according to the variables above, except for ex-School A children where no significant differences on the scoring of areas occur between the pattern for the two sexes. This School A result is due to a dropping off in numbers of problems indicated in all areas for both sexes (see earlier section on comparison of primary and secondary schools).

2. Variables MA and IQ: Girls compared with boys in lower MA groups, check over-all many more problems ($p < .001$). A similar trend - but not statistically significant - appears with the lower IQ groups (Chi-square = 2.37; $.2 > p > .1$).

3. Boys compared with girls in these groups (lower MA and lower IQ) locate as many (MA groups) or more (IQ groups) problems (and therefore a higher proportion of their total number of checks) in area S, while girls locate more problems in area BG. (See section above on undifferentiated groups.)

4. Girls of higher MA and IQ groups compared with boys in corresponding groups check, overall, fewer problems.

Summary : E Class Subjects

1. Major differences in problem areas of the two sexes existing in Grade VI tend to persist in the secondary school year.

Qualifications to above:

- (a) Area S lessens in importance and BG increases in importance for girls but not for boys.
- (b) Area PG tends to increase in importance for boys, not girls.

2. Sex differences in reactions to problems show clearly and persistently in areas MWF and SC and to a lesser extent in area PG.

3. Some problems peculiar to one or the other sex appear or are strengthened in the secondary year, for example, boys' concern with money.

4. The chronologically older groups, both male and female, indicate a higher incidence of problems and the more intelligent groups a lower incidence, than in the preceding year.

5. Area HF is for both sexes and at both years, the area of fewest problems.

Comparison of Findings with those of Other Studies

The essential findings of other studies are grouped and compared with findings from this study under five headings.

I. Differences between Males and Females

1. Boys mature earlier than girls and look for earlier freedom from the home and its restrictions (Kuhlen, 1952; Herbst, 1952). One might therefore expect to find the boys expressing: distress or protest in relation to restrictions on, or interference with their leisure time by the demands of either school or home; antagonism to homework; need for money and jobs, as moves towards independence and freedom. These problems are listed in various guises in the areas S, HF, MWF, and BG, and under the constellation "leisure."

In the Tasmanian Study

in both years boys check more frequently than girls in the area MWF. Secondary boys (a year more mature) express more problems than secondary girls in relation to school, and a very much higher number than the girls for the constellation "leisure."

2. Adolescent boys develop a different social orientation from adolescent girls; they are orientated towards a practical, responsible role, and hence they are specially concerned with economic, political, theoretical and personal-social affairs. Boys' scores "consistently exceed those of girls in tasks such as use of money,

forethought for future needs in respect of career and marriage, freedom of movement...." "Tasks with higher female ranking are almost all domestic or social in significance" (Harwood, 1956). In the Tasmanian Study the area MWF is scored more highly by boys than girls. Area SC which has social connotations, is scored higher by girls in both years. Primary girls do, and secondary girls tend to score higher than boys on PG, the area of social relationships.

3. Boys at the level of Grade VI feel more concern than girls over examination results (Bledsoe, 1967 - based on children in Georgia, U.S.A.). This study's findings is not in agreement with Bledsoe's. The Grade VI girls, on the items "afraid of tests" and "afraid of failing in schoolwork" checked significantly more frequently than the boys (20:8), and a similar ratio existed the following year (17:8).
4. There are differences in the chief areas of problems checked by boys and girls. (Mooney, 1942, 1943; Clements and Oelke, 1966.) This is true for this study also.

See Table 36, p. 306.

II. Effects of Intelligence Level or School Attainment

There appears to be a dearth of studies on the association

of IQ or mental age and numbers or types of problems.

The two most relevant seen are those of Sandefur and Bigge (1966) and Harwood (1956):-

1. Success in school(Grades VIII and IX) correlates with
 - (a) a low total number of problems
 - (b) a low number of problems in area HF
 - (c) has no correlation with scores in area BG
 (Sandefur and Bigge, 1966).
2. Children of higher intelligence take responsibility earlier and more easily (Harwood, 1956).

This study: Findings suggest a similar relationship to that found by Sandefur and Bigge: though the subjects are not classified according to school achievement, they are grouped according to IQ and both male and female secondary school subjects in the higher IQ groups have significantly fewer checks than those in the lower IQ groups.

III. Average Numbers and Range of Problems

1. (a) Children from areas which are neither urban nor truly rural have a higher mean number of problems than strictly rural or strictly urban children (Clements and Oelke, 1966).
- (b) Socio-economic and geographic differences have least effect on the numbers of problems in areas S, BG, and HF, and on questions about fears and goals (Mooney, 1943).

This study: (1) Children of the "neither strictly rural nor strictly urban" group, namely children from School A, have a higher mean number of problems than children from the urban school, but, on passing into the secondary school have a lower number of problems than the boys and girls from the urban school. (11) Area S appears to be the most susceptible to differences between the two schools.

2. Average numbers of problems per subject are given by Mooney (1943), Morris (1954), Garrison and Cunningham (1952) and Abel and Gingles (1965).

This study: The children of this study have much smaller average numbers of problems than are shown in other studies. Averages are: Grade VI girls 10, Grade VI boys 10.2, B class girls 11.4, B class boys 11.3. These may be compared with those given by Mooney (1943) for Grade XI combined sexes, 28, and (1942) for Grades IX and X combined sexes, 25; Morris (1954) for combined sexes, 32.0; Garrison and Cunningham (1952) for Grade IX, 36.3; Abel and Gingles (1965) for Grades IX and X girls, 48.6.

Table 35

Comparison of Numbers of Check List Responses

Grade VI

Study population and total classes in which study population located.

Subjects	Average No. of problems			Range
	Girls	Boys	Combined	
total classes	12.16	14.6	13.19	0 - 94
study population	10.04	10.15	10.1	0 - 50
non-study population	13.94	17.23	15.66	0 - 94

Table 36

Comparison of Studies : Problem Check List

	Study							
	Mooney * 1942	Amos & Washington ^b 1951		Abel & Gingles ⁺ 1965	Clements & Celke ⁺ 1967	Tasmanian ^x †		
Grade(s)	XI	VII, VIII, IX		IX, X	IX-XII	VI, VII, VIII		E
Subjects	Boys & Girls	Boys	Girls	Girls	Boys & Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys Girls
Order of importance of areas	Vocational and educational future	S	SC	Adjustment to schoolwork		S	SC	S SC
		MWF	S			MWF	S	MWF BG
		SC	MWF	Socio-psych. relations		SC	HPD	{BG S
	Finances and employment	HPD	HPD			BG	PG	{HPD PG
	School adjustment	PG	PG	Personal-psych. relations		HPD	SC	SC HDD
		HP	HP	Soc. and recreational activities		HF	PG	PG MWF
		SC	SC			PG	HF	HF HF
Girls' problems exceed Boys' problems in:	PG BG HP					SC		
Boys' problems exceed Girls' problems in:					The future: vocational & educational Adjustment to school	MWF		

* Using Mooney Problem Check List, early form

^b Using Mooney Problem Check List, 1950 Revision, Form J⁺ Using Mooney Problem Check List, 1950 Revision, Form H^x Using 140 items adapted from Mooney Problem Check List, 1950 Revision, Form J

† See Table 11, p 198; Table 18, p 213; Table 22, p 227; Table 29, p 241.

Differences exist between the subjects of this study and those of Mooney's and Morris' studies in that Mooney's and Morris' groups were heterosexual and the subjects came from higher grades and so were older. Further, in all the studies quoted the Mooney Check List used contained 210 items compared with only 140 items on the Check List used in the Tasmanian study. Apparent discrepancies in findings between the present treatment and the Mooney Check List are explained in previous pages.

It could be supposed that the number of problems increases with higher grades and/or older children. There is a slight suggestion of this in the Tasmanian study, but certainly not enough to be statistically significant.

It may also be postulated that the criterion of selection - only one primary school to have been attended - may be a strong influence on the number of problems. As a check on this, an analysis of the total Grade VIs from which the study population was extracted, was made (see Table 35).

The difference between the mean scores for the "study" and the "remainder" groups is significant at the .05 level, though the mean scores for the "remainder" groups are still considerably lower than in the other studies listed.

The range of scores is also much lower than that quoted by Mooney (1943). His subjects ranged from scores of 1 to 177 problems; the Tasmanian study group ranges from scores of

0 to 39 for girls and 0 to 55 for boys, with the full Grade VI population ranging from 0 to 94 for girls and 0 to 79 for boys.

IV. Chief Areas of Problems

Certain specific areas contain more problems than other areas. These have been tabled together with the hierarchies of areas for the Tasmanian children. (Table 36)

V. Differences According to Age

1. Younger children tend to define their self-concept in terms of external criteria, older children in terms of their inner resources and of relationships (Jersild, 1952).

Older children - in the teenage group - worry about popularity, being liked, and school success (Staines, 1954; Emmett, 1959; Crow, 1962; Wilkie, 1962).

Thus one might look for a greater number of problems and dissatisfaction in the areas of HD and perhaps S (since school success might be thought of as providing external criteria) amongst the younger children, and a growing incidence of problems in the areas SC, PG, and SO, together with a maintenance of problems in area S amongst the older children.

2. Young high school children express dissatisfaction

with teachers and a need for help with school work
(Spivak, 1957).

This study:

1. Though area HPD has only a middle place in the hierarchy for both years, it is nevertheless not a negligible source of problems, but there is no tendency for the number of problems in area HPD to lessen in 8 class.

2. Boys appear to have or to express problems of peer-group relationships (area BG) earlier than the girls, but the girls show more worry over personal and general social matters than the boys (areas SC and PG). Wishing to be better liked appears to be more worried about in the secondary year.

3. Area S is high in problems in both years. Within this area and also in the area SC, the prevalence of "fear" and "failure" problems is marked.

CHAPTER X

Rogers' Test of Personality Adjustment

Review of relevant studies

Analysis of the Tasmanian group

CHAPTER X

Rogers' Test of Personality Adjustment

Review of Other Studies

(a) Studies with Relevance to Self-assessment of Personality

Rogers concentrated on the cognized self, the attitudes and beliefs about the self which the individual consciously has or consciously admits to having. In response to Rogers' Test of Personality Adjustment the child does not define his problems but gives estimates of himself in relation to various characteristics and situations. He makes self-evaluations. Is he able to make self-evaluations that are accurate or in agreement with other people's estimates of him? The answer is both "yes" and "no."

Certainly he does not always see himself as other see him (Washington, 1951; Spivak, 1957; Perkins, 1958; Jackson and Lohaderne, 1957). In these studies discrepancy is shown to exist between teacher ratings of the children and the children's estimates of themselves. Perkins found that the teachers attributed to the children problems which the children did not consider they had, although there was a significant correlation between the teacher's perception of the child and the child's perception of himself. In Spivak's

study the children themselves considered that the teachers did not understand them, gave them no encouragement, did not like them, and made fun of them, indicating that there was a lack of appropriate communication and understanding between teachers and children. Washington found that teachers and children differed considerably in their estimation or recognition of the children's problems, so that in considering the items rated as problems by the children and the items rated by the teachers as being the children's problems, there were discrepancies in every area - in some areas as many as 7 out of 20 problems on which teacher and pupil markings differed significantly. Jackson and Lahaderne found that teachers' estimates of students' satisfaction with school were better than chance, but "related more closely to the student's academic record than to the student's expressed attitudes" about his school, his teachers and his success - teachers appearing to estimate student reactions closer to the student's achievement than to the student's rating of his own attitudes and school experience.

Similar discrepancies between parents' and childrens' perceptions appear to exist, as indicated by Kemp (1965), whose adolescents rated themselves quite differently from their parents on such things as self-reliance, nervousness,

and personal worth, and who tended to be critical of the adjustment of their parents. The lack of congruency between parent and adolescent estimates extended not only to estimates of the adolescent by the parent, but also to estimates of the parent by the adolescent.

As for the accuracy of the child's self-estimate, Spaight (1965) studied the congruency between the actual self and the perceived self of the child in 80 Grade VII pupils, and found that in certain areas the accuracy of the estimate was rather doubtful. Able-learners tended to underestimate their achievement levels; bright pupils tended to rate themselves less accurately than did their less-bright peers; slow learning children receiving special education rated their progress of achievement more accurately than slow learning pupils in a normal peer group. But Angel (1959) found that, accurate or not, there was a high degree of stability in the adolescent's self-descriptions made over a period of two years, from 8th to 10th Grade.

The degree to which a child can accept himself will affect the ultimate accuracy of his self-estimates on a scale like that of Rogers. Taylor and Combs (1952) hypothesized that better adjusted children could accept more damaging statements about themselves than less well-adjusted children, and found that this was so in a study of Grade VI subjects. Silver

(1958), found that maternal and paternal acceptance were important in permitting the child to make self-ratings in which he admitted to less desirable characteristics about his cognized self. Mandel (1963) found that there was rather more inconsistency in self-ratings with 13 year old girls (roughly equivalent in age to the 8 class girls in this study) than with the 10 year old girls (equivalent to or slightly younger than the Grade VI girls in this study).

Marshall (1959) devoted a study to answering the question "Can children really evaluate their own work? Can they be honest in marking themselves?" She realized that children who were not experienced in making conscious judgments of their own work tended to make estimates which were considerably different from those of the teacher. However she found that, after training in self-evaluation, with genuine teacher-child communication, and when they realized it was required of them, "most of the children could judge the quality of their work quite accurately." It must be admitted the children in this Cammanian study had had no training in self-estimation, nor was any study done to see to what degree their self-evaluation differed from evaluations made by other significant persons in their environment.

Peer estimates may to some extent bridge the difference between a teacher's estimate of the child and the child's self-estimate. Perkins (1958) discovered a significant relationship between the peer group perception of the child and the child's own self-perception, but found that there was greater congruency between these two perceptions for less threatening than for more threatening percepts.

(b) Studies with Relevance to the Content of the Rogers' Test of Personality Adjustment and the Michigan Picture Story Test

The self-ratings on the Rogers and in the elements of the stories given to the Michigan Picture Story cards in this study, were categorised into four areas - personal adequacy, social adequacy, family relationships, and wishes or ideals. The studies now reviewed will be considered for their findings in relation to these four areas.

(i) Personal adequacy: Wilkie (1952) found primary school children to be very confident of their adequacy in sport and games, and to profess a liking for and reasonable adequacy in reading. But they showed uncertainty about their physical bravery and their academic performance; they lacked confidence in their ability to reach an approved standard of performance in school work and to attain a position in the class within the top third of the group. The specific features of the physical image which they least approved of

in themselves was voice quality - they considered that their voices were not pleasant. Boys exceeded girls in confidence of skill in games and sports: girls had greater confidence than boys in their finer co-ordination and hence in neatness and cleanness of their work. These differences between sexes in matters of personal adequacy persisted into the secondary school regardless of the type and intellectual quality of the secondary school. At the secondary school stage doubts about adequacy in school work in general arose with both sexes, and conviction of inadequacy in the two subjects, English and Arithmetic. Modern school boys considered themselves better at sport than school work: grammar school boys had much less confidence in their skill in games and sport but expressed a fondness for reading not claimed by the modern school boys. Grammar school girls too expressed a greater interest in reading than modern school girls. In both primary school and secondary school groups the brighter children showed greater and - as they became older - increasing uncertainty about their possession of desirable physical qualities, whereas duller children throughout showed greater certainty about specific details and the boundaries of their physical self-picture.

Emmett (1959), on the contrary, found in his study of

secondary school children that the duller children showed in their self-picture more uncertainty about adequacy in general than did the bright children. In his subjects concern with physical adequacy seemed minimal. The most frequently checked items about the physical image were a wish to be good looking and a wish to be of good appearance.

(11) Social adequacy: the pre-adolescent is usually described as passing through a period of dislike of the opposite sex while being, at the same time, anxious to appear well in the eyes of his peers. The subjects of Arora's study (1965) showed these expected tendencies. Arora found that girls at the ages of 10 to 13 preferred to have friends of their own sex, and at about the age of 13 were envious of boys because they thought boys to be "better off than girls because of their physical strength." At the age of 13 they denied interest in boys more strongly than they did at the age of 10, though the indications were that they were much more interested in the boys at this age than previously. Staines (1954) found social relationships entering little in to 9-to-13 year old boys' reported pictures of themselves and their problems and interests, and Fuchter (1960) found secondary school fourth form girls much more sociable than secondary school third form boys. Parker's sixth grade children (1954)

implied by their selection of discussion topics that there were a number of social areas in which they felt themselves to be inadequate.

What children considered to be adequate behaviour in peer interpersonal relationships is indicated in Goertzen's investigation (1959). In a study of 898 males and 875 females from Grade VII, Goertzen found a striking similarity of opinions expressed by these children. Behavioural syndromes in order of least acceptability were: (1) aggressive, (2) delinquent, (3) non-conforming, and (4) withdrawing. Within the aggressive and delinquent syndromes the least acceptable behaviours were: (1) hitting, fighting and beating people, (2) pushing people around, (3) swearing, (4) stealing, (5) smoking, (6) behaving unfairly - not taking turns - being a poor loser, (7) talking about other people and other people's business, (8) showing off, being stuck up.

(iii) Family relationships: In the area of authority-child relationships, some studies suggest that the child feels that he is inadequately understood by the authority figures. In Kemp's study (1965) the adolescents perceived their parents as not fully understanding them, or as being variable in their understanding. Of Parker's adolescents (1964) 20 per cent thought the teacher lacked understanding, and about as many

considered the teacher to be too strict, or to fail to give encouragement, or to make fun of them. But Wilkie's subjects (1962) both in Grade VI and in the first year of secondary school, felt that they were well regarded by their families. The degree of authoritarianism in the situation, coupled with the degree of compulsiveness in the child, appear to influence the child's perception of his adequacy in school work (Goldberg, 1968). Davies' study too (1959) indicated a developing sense in secondary school children of inadequacy in school work stemming from the attitudes of the teacher: teachers were sometimes said to be too strict, to talk too much, not to understand pupils, and to show favouritism.

A breakdown in family relationships with the onset of adolescence appears in the study by Simpson (1963) of a group of Sydney adolescents. The peak of overt conflict between child and parent occurred at ages 14 and 15. Arova (1965) found the peak of aggression to be rather earlier (about age 10 or 11): in responses to the Rosenzweig Picture Frustration Test hostility was turned against people or things in the environment more by boys than by girls who, instead, showed a higher tendency toward intro-punitiveness. Cox (1960) found that hostile attitudes to parents tended to spill over into hostile attitudes to peers.

General Analysis

Rogers' Test of Personal Adjustment requires the child to rate himself as to how he thinks he is in relation to certain traits, qualities, attitudes, and experiences, and, in Sections Two and Four to say how and what he would like to be. It is, therefore, possible to get an idea of his present self-picture (the cognized self) and of his current "ideal" self. The present self-picture is considered first.

The aspects on which the child's view of himself will be sought from the Rogers' Test in this study are:

1. Personal adequacy
 - (a) appearance
 - physical adequacy
 - motor skills
 - (b) intellectual ability and
 - school achievement
2. Social adequacy
 - (a) social attitudes
 - (b) social relationships
 - (c) attitudes to possessions, e.g.
 - clothes and pocket money
3. Family relationships
 - and the future
 - (a) parent-child relationships
 - (b) sibling relationships
 - (c) future
 - (d) parent ideals
4. Wishes

It can be seen that these divisions have some parallel with the areas under which the problems of the Check List are itemized and will serve as a framework for comparison with the findings on the Check List.

It is intended to see if there exists a typical self-picture at the times of testing and whether it has noticeably changed in the secondary year.

Yet it seems important not to lose sight of the fact that there is likely to be variety in the children's ideas about themselves and that some sections of the Test, for example Section Four, allow for variation in ideas to be specifically expressed. In attempting to make generalizations, such as by averaging the points of difference from the stereotype at which the subjects rate themselves, over-simplification and overlooking of important individual differences may occur.

However, to present merely a collection of individual self-pictures defeats the purpose of presenting the common features of the current self-picture of a group and the consequent probable common problems. Something between these two approaches is used - description, numerical summary, and finally a statistical analysis of the shift in ratings made by individuals.

It is noticeable that responses to items in Rogers' Test, Section Four, tend to fall into four types of distributions:

- (i) One-cluster - checks indicating self-rating in relation to the "sample-child" fall mainly in a single cluster, I
- (ii) two-cluster - checks fall mainly into two clusters not necessarily at the two poles of the continuum, II
- (iii) scattered - checks do not cluster anywhere, III
- (iv) one-cluster + scattered - a considerable concentration on one part of the continuum and the remainder of the checks scattered. IV

The pattern of responses can then be shown in a Table in which the items of Section Four are regrouped according to that aspect of the self-picture with which they deal.

Detailed Analysis (A)

Primary School Girls - Grade VI	Composition of the Group
	School A N = 7
	School B N = 22
	Total N = 29

TABLE 37

Responses to Rogers' Test of Personality Adjustment :

Section Four : Primary School Girls : Grade VI

Area	Item no.	Details of the item	Type of distribution				Details of distribution *
			I	II	III	IV	
Personal adequacy	1	prettiest girl	x				59% rate 7-8-9; 38% rate 3-4-5
	2	good at sport	x				24% rate 7-8-9; 59% rate 3-4-5
	3	gets good school marks			x		
	4	enjoys reading				x	45% rate 0
	11	envies boy's role				x	62% rate 9; 38% scattered
Social adequacy	13	brightest girl			x		34% rate 7-8-9; 38% rate 3-4-5; 24% rate 0-1-2
	8	plays with boys	x				59% rate 7-8-9; 34% rate 3-4-5
	17	has many boy friends		x			76% rate 7-8-9
	5	enjoys parties	x				76% rate 0-1-2; 93% rate 0-4
	10	most popular				x	
	9	is a leader		x			48% rate 3-4-5; 34% rate 7-8-9
	7	has nicest clothes	x				76% rate 2-3-4-5
	16	has most spending money	x				66% rate 7-8-9; 24% rate 4-5
	6	obedience to mother				x	86% rate 0-4

(Table continued on next page)

TABLE 37 (cont.)

Area	Item no.	Details of the item	Type of distribution				Details of distribution	*
			I	II	III	IV		
Family relationships	12	disdains parental advice				x	72% rate 8-9	
	15	is angry with siblings		x			48% rate 7-8-9; 44% rate 0-1-2	
With-drawal	14	prefers imaginary world to real world				x	48% rate 7-8-9	
	18	prefers fantasy-ing to playing games	x				90% rate 7-8-9	

* Points range from 0 (absolute identity with stereotype) to 9 (greatest dissimilarity from stereotype)

These response patterns (Table 37) are now considered in conjunction with the responses made to Sections Five and Two to see what light they throw on the self-picture of the Grade VI girls.

1. Personal Adequacy

(a) Physical adequacy, physical appearance, motor skill. The girls have generally rather a low opinion of their physical appearance, 17 (59 per cent) consider themselves far from being the prettiest girl in the school, the remainder choose a middle position and no-one claims that people say she is very good-looking. But being at the extreme from "prettiest" does not appear to be associated with any marked sense of ugliness, discontent over appearance, or even awareness of individual

differences in degree of beauty. Only one girl rates herself as "not at all good-looking," 3 as "not very good-looking," but 20 (69%) - of whom 11 rated themselves at the opposite pole from "prettiest" - think they are "as good looking as most."

This suggests lack of any acute concern with, or discontent over physical beauty, which is borne out by the fact that only 4 girls (3 of them at the 0 points of difference on item IV-1) choose as their first wish to "be better looking," though 7 more give this as their third choice.

Nor are many discontented with their sex. Eighteen girls (62%) deny totally any wish to be a boy in order to "have more fun," 5 (17%) do rather wish they were boys. However the girls do tend to feel themselves noticeably less competent than boys at sport and games, though not necessarily poor by girls' standards since 21 of the 29 think they can play sports "pretty well"; but all 7 who rated themselves as thoroughly inferior to the boys say they can play only "a little bit." This lack of skill occasions about as much discontent as does lack of beauty in that 10 girls give as one of their wishes "to play games better," but only two make it their first choice. It is interesting to note too that 7 of these 10 girls think they already can play pretty well. Most of the poor players evidently feel there are

other things more to be wished for than sporting prowess. Twenty-two subjects (76 per cent) rate themselves as strong, the remaining 7 are "not very strong" but only one of these is among the 8 who wish "to be stronger."

(b) Intellectual ability and school achievement. Opinions here tend generally to be more diverse. Distributions on items are more scattered, though for some items a considerable part of the group shows solidarity of opinion, while ratings of the rest are spread over much of the rest of the scale. For example, opinions about attaining "good marks in school work" range the full length of the scale, from 6 girls claiming that they do get good marks in all subjects, to 5 at the other extreme. Similarly in assessing themselves for brightness 34 per cent (10) place themselves at the not-brightest end, 41 per cent (12) take a middle of the range position and the remaining 25 per cent (7) rank themselves as being the brightest or almost the brightest in the school. Almost half (14) make complete identification with the stereotype and say they enjoy reading any sort of books, 6 more rate themselves on the positive side, 31 per cent are negatively disposed to reading. It is interesting that the 5 children with the lowest IQ as well as 5 of the 6 with the highest IQ all claim

very positively to enjoy reading. The lack of clustering (or the more even dispersion of ratings over the full scale) so marked for these items may be due to the fact that in "school skills" the subjects have more knowledge and experience (such as weekly tests, exams and class ratings) against which to make their assessments and that they are therefore aware and more able to rate the discrepancies between themselves and the stereotype. It could be that in other areas the response given is made on less tangible criteria and on experiences for which no mark or measure has been given, and is indicative of feeling rather than knowledge. That is, the subjects tend to feel "pretty good" or "all right" or "pretty bad" about themselves and so responses fall into these blocks rather than along ranges.

2. Social Adequacy

Two types of information are available here:

- (i) the subject's preferences
- (ii) the subject's self-ratings and statements of facts, as he knows them, about himself.

(a) First, do these subjects prefer the social or group situation to the solitary or withdrawing one? Majority preference for the social type of situation and activity is stated unequivocally. All except 2 state that they "adore

parties" and have a wonderful time at them; 20 identify themselves completely with "Martha" the stereotype. When it is a matter of playing games with other boys and girls, all the responses are on the approving side; 5 like it "fairly well," 17 "like it a great deal," and 7 would "rather do this than anything else they know." Even the one girl who, in response to item IV-18, says that she gets more fun out of her imaginary world than out of the real world, also says that she would rather play games with other girls and boys than do anything else.

As for the size of the group, only 6 want to play with a whole crowd, most (20) like to play with just one or two others, and 3 who enjoy playing with others "a great deal" nevertheless prefer, they say, to play alone or read. (One of these is the girl who finds the make believe world nicer than the real world and it seems probable that, although she would prefer to play with others, in practice this does not turn out happily so she retreats to a solitary situation.) The preference for just one or two others suggests a stage of development beyond the gang-play stage of middle-to-late-childhood and is consistent with a more cautious or suspicious attitude towards people to be expected of the adolescent who tends to restrict his faith in people to a few select "cronies."

Nor do most of these girls play or want to play with boys. Seventeen (59 per cent) deny strongly that they play with boys and only one claims that she always plays with and is accepted by a gang of boys. The 34 per cent who rate themselves as "middle of the road" for this item apparently still enjoy some gang play with boys. Actually, playing rough games has not much appeal; half the group like them a little but the majority of the other half who dislike them hate to have people push and pull them around.

The superior attraction of the world of imagination and of imaginary friends over reality is, on the contrary, not strong. Only 7 girls rate themselves positively as enjoying adventures with imaginary friends and only one as finding this more fun than playing games.

(b) Peer relationships: On this there is more variation in opinions and self-estimates. In spite of the declared overwhelming enjoyment of parties and the attraction of activities in the real and companionable world, the girls are very diverse in their ideas of their individual popularity. One third of them (9) completely deny having any leadership role, half (15) of them rate themselves negatively as leaders presumably feeling themselves inadequate to get the girls to "do what she wants them to do," and only 4 think they are

leaders. They do not rate themselves rich in boyfriends. Twenty-two (76 per cent) deny that they have many boyfriends: 2 say they have none.

There is evidence of social awareness and a need for social affiliation in their wish to be liked, and some are even prepared to work at being liked. Fourteen try very hard to "make people like them" and 12, though they say they "don't care very much" about wanting people to like them are "glad" when people do like them. Three allege they "don't care" at all, but of these 3 at least 2 would seem to rationalize since they define themselves as being far from popular, and, though one says she has "hundred of friends," both choose as one of their three wishes "to have more friends," and both say (and are the only ones who do say it) that other children often play mean tricks on them. In most cases however, they must feel they succeed in being liked at least by their peers, since only 2 choose the wish "to have boys and girls like me better."

Not only do they want friends, but they claim they have them. No one admits to being completely friendless, 16 have "one or two" or "a few" good friends, 11 have "many." (Two have "hundreds of them"! But these 2 are girls for whom many

responses are suggestive of wishful thinking and maladjustment.) Their friends are primarily of their own sex. No one thinks the boys like her better than the girls do and though one third (10) feel popular with both boys and girls, the rest (19) think they are better liked by the girls. Peers, however, have not supplanted parents as the ideal companions for all occasions. The mother first, and the father slightly less often, are preferred for the "special treat" type of outing, with the special friend chosen as the first preference by less than one quarter of the subjects:-

	1st choice	2nd choice	3rd choice
mother	11	12	5
father	9	11	3
best friend	6	2	10

Going alone or with a group of friends on such an occasion makes little appeal.

(c) Attitude to possessions is but lightly touched on in the Test. Pocket money and clothes are the only examples. The subjects appear fairly well satisfied with their clothes. "My clothes are nice enough" (20), and "I have very good clothes" (9) are the two chosen statements. In defining how nice they are - whether they are the nicest in the school - the tendency is for the subjects to mass themselves most

heavily near the middle of the scale and then spread towards the positive pole indicating that though they do not, except for two subjects, think they have the "nicest clothes of anyone in the school" they do consider that their clothes are, at least, quite acceptable: 83 per cent (24) rate themselves in the positive half of the "nice-clothes" scale. They are less optimistic about pocket money. No one thinks she has the most spending money in the group, and 66 per cent place themselves at or near the negative extreme, indicating that the contrary is true. However only 5 wish for more money; the remainder tend to place themselves towards the middle of the scale presumably indicating that if they do not have an "embarras de richesses" at least they have sufficient pocket money to match with the rest of the girls.

3. Family Relationships

In this area the subjects rate themselves on attitudes to their parents and their siblings, assess affectional relationships, choose what they believe is the parental ideal and indicate how closely they think they approximate to it.

(a) Parent-child relationships: Two items refer to the child's submission to and dependence on the parents. Eighty-six per cent rate themselves as being always (9),

usually (5), or more often than not (11) obedient to their mothers and the same number disclaim any marked likeness to "Florence" the stereotype who "doesn't want to mind her father and mother because she is old enough to decide things for herself." In fact 21 of the 29 girls rank themselves at the negative extreme from Florence. Only 2 girls, who depict themselves as not-bright, not-popular, and as withdrawing into the make-believe world, rate themselves as basically disobedient and disregarding of their parents. Most also depict themselves as willingly responsive to direction, 11 claiming to like being told how to do things, and 11 saying they don't mind, but 7 prefer to do things their own way.

The parents are seen as being accepting and showing unbiased affection by 22 subjects who consider their parents "like me well enough but not better than my brothers and sisters," 3 others feel they are liked only second best, 2 "only" children say, naturally enough, they are the one the parents "like best of all" and the remaining 2, who claim to be better-liked than their siblings, are once again children whose other responses suggest considerable maladjustment and who may well, in this response, be over-compensating. Of the 27 girls with siblings only 3 (one of whom also feels unfavoured

by her parents) feel that they often receive worse treatment from other people not their parents, than do their brothers and sisters. Parent-child animosity certainly seems negligible since no one wishes "to have a different mother and father," though 6 would like to have their parents love them more. This is very much in keeping with the lack of problems in the H₂ area of the Problem Check List.

(b) Sibling relationships: Attitudes to their siblings are less generally accepting. Two subjects do not have any siblings; half of the 27 who have often, or fairly often, feel cross with their siblings, 12 say they do not. Warm empathy with siblings is not general. Only 17 say they feel proud when their siblings are praised: 9 "don't care" and one is resentful. However responses concerning the two apparently complementary attitudes of tolerance for and pride in siblings show little correlation. Apparently it is not generally felt as incompatible to be, for example, both proud of one's siblings and cross with them.

(c) The future: This deals with the child's attitude to his present chronological age, the sort of a person he aspires to be, and his parents' aspirations for him.

The majority (22) would prefer to be grown up rather than to be their present age, but only 4 express an anxious

impatience for this by saying they are just not "able to wait" to be grown up. This majority preference for adulthood seems a normal enough example of the attitude "the grass on the other side of the fence is greener," not deriving from any sense of pressing necessity since, when it comes to choosing wishes, the wish to be "grown up" receives from the total group only one choice, and a third choice at that.

All except 2 subjects want, and believe their parents also want for them, the same sort of future - "to be a happy, ordinary person with a good job."

(d) Parent ideals: The subject's idea of what the parents' ideal or most-approved-of child would be and how well she measures up to this are indicated by the responses to items 19 and 20 of Section Four - "Which of these girls (all the stereotypes of Section Four) would your mother/father like best" - and her rating of herself in relation to this chosen stereotype.

Of the 13 stereotypes chosen by the subjects as the girl who would be most liked by the mother or the father, only the "intellectually bright" stereotype is popularly thought to be favoured by both the mothers and fathers. Mothers - perhaps even more of them than favour the bright girl - are also thought to like the girl who is obedient to them. Few fathers are believed to set much store by this quality,

but nearly 25 per cent of them are believed to like girls who get good school marks. Intellectual ability and obedience, then, are thought to appeal more than other qualities to rather more than 50 per cent of the mothers, and intellectual ability and good school attainment to some 50 per cent of the fathers (Table 38).

Agreement between the mother and father on the most desirable quality in a daughter occurs with only one quarter of the group. In these cases of parental agreement the ideal qualities are intellectual ability (4 girls), indulgence in make-believe dreaming (2), and obedience(1).

Only a few subjects by their own estimate measure up really well on the qualities most admired by fathers and/or mothers. There is no significant difference for the group between their ratings of their degree of attainment to the mother's ideal and the father's ideal ($t = 1.27$, $df\ 26$, $.3 > p > .2$) (Table 39). Seven girls identify themselves or come close to identification with the stereotype chosen by both father and mother; 6 are far from measuring up to the stereotype of either parent, but in only three cases is there any marked discrepancy between degree of adequacy in relation to the mother's and that in relation to the father's ideal.

TABLE 38

Stereotypes Most Approved by Parents

Primary Girls (N=27)*

No. of item or stereo- type	Detail of the item	No. of parents choosing		Total
		Mother	Father	
13	intellectually bright	7	8	15
6	obedient to mother	9	2	11
3	gets good marks at school	-	6	6
14	a make-believe dreamer	3	2	3
10	popular	2	2	4
2	good at sports	1	3	4
9	a leader	2	-	2
18	enjoys solitary, imaginative pursuits	1	1	2
7	has nice clothes	1	-	1
6	accepted by boys as a gang member	1	-	1
11	would like to be a boy	-	1	1
1	pretty	-	1	1
Sample Helen	a good runner	-	1	1
<hr/>				
No. of stereotypes chosen		*		
13	Totals	27	27	54

* Two subjects did not answer.

TABLE 39

Self-ratings on Parentally Approved Stereotypes

Primary Girls (N=27)*

Points of difference between stereotype and self-rating	No. of girls showing these differences for	
	Mother's ideal	Father's ideal
9	5	5
8	3	3
7	-	-
6	-	1
5	3	4
4	5	6
3	2	1
2	5	1
1	3	5
0	1	-
Total	123	135
\bar{X} =	4.7	5.0

* Two subjects did not answer

It is noteworthy that again these 3 are girls who in various ways present a self picture rather noticeably divergent from those of the remainder of the group and suggestive of widespread feelings of unhappiness and inadequacy.

For example, one rates herself low in the area of personal appearance, less loved by her parents and frequently less well-treated by others than her siblings: two find themselves happier in a make-believe world than a real one: one feels inferior to her siblings in the treatment received from others.

4. Wishes

The things which the girls would most like to change in relation to themselves by no means suggest a wish to come closer to the parents' ideal-stereotypes. Only 15 per cent of the responses to Section Two imply a wish to improve in the postulated parent-preferred qualities. Desire for improvement in some aspect of personal adequacy predominates (see Table 40).

TABLE 40

Choice of Wishes
Primary Girls (N=29)

Item Content	No. of subjects choosing			Rank of choice	Area of self-picture concerned
	1st	2nd	3rd		
(a), to be stronger etc.	3	1	4	5	personal adequacy : physical
(b) to be better liked by peers		2			social adequacy : peers
(c) to get along better	3	1	1	6	family relationships : parent-child
(d) to be brighter	9	2	2	1	personal adequacy : intellectual
(e) to play games better	2	6	2	4	personal adequacy : motor skills, social adequacy
(f) to have different parents					family relationships : parent-child
(g) to be a boy		1			personal adequacy : physical
(i) to be bigger	2	1	2		personal adequacy : physical appearance & competence
(j) to have more money	1	4	1		social adequacy : possessions
(k) to be grown up and leave home	1		1		social adequacy : attitudes family relationships
(l) to have more friends	3	5	3	2	social adequacy : peers
(m) to be better looking	4	1	7	3	personal adequacy : appearance
(n) to have parents love us more	1	2	3		family relationships : parent-child

* Not all subjects gave 2nd and 3rd choices

Points per rating are given arbitrarily as: 1st choice = 3 points
2nd choice = 2 points
3rd choice = 1 point

Summary: Primary Girls

A statistical summary of features of the self-picture of primary girls as shown by responses and ratings given on Rogers' Test of Personality Adjustment:-

Statements which the majority (17 or more, i.e. 60 per cent or more) claim as being true for them. (In Section Four a statement is accepted as true for any rating not more than two points distant from the stereotype.)

I. <u>In relation to personal adequacy</u>	73
Can play games pretty well	72
Strong	76
As good looking as most boys and girls	69
Would like to be grown up	76
Want to be an ordinary happy adult with a good job	93
II. <u>Socially</u>	
Adores parties and has a good time at them	76
Enjoys playing games with other girls and boys	100
Enjoys playing games with <u>just one or two others</u>	62
Sometimes suffers mean tricks from other children	76
Sometimes or often not so well-treated as siblings by other people	66

Better liked by girls than boys	66
Thinks most fun occurs in life between ages of 12 and 25 years	60
Has nice or very good clothes for school	100 (69% + 31%)

III. In relation to the family

Equally well-liked as other siblings by parents	76
Parents want her to be a happy, ordinary adult with a good job	93

Statements which majority reject: (Rejection is considered to have been made if rating is 7, 8, or 9 points distant from identification with stereotype.)

I. In relation to personal adequacy

The prettiest girl in the school	66
Wants to be a boy (so as to have a better time)	69

II. Socially

Always plays with a gang of boys	60
Has lots of boy-friends	76
Finds the make-believe world nicer than the real world	66
Enjoys solitary imagining in preference to playing games	90
Has more money to spend than other girls	66

III. In relation to the family

Do not want to mind (accept advice from) mother and father, feels old enough to decide for herself	72
--	----

Statements and factors about which group is divided in opinion but some clustering occurs (at least 10, i.e. 33 per cent, constitutes a cluster)

I. In relation to personal adequacy

Likes to be told how to do things 35

Does not mind being told how to do things 47

II. Socially

Has many friends 38

Has a few good friends 34

Plays games as well as boys do 35

Plays games only moderately well 35

Tries hard to be liked 41

Doesn't try hard but is glad when liked 41

Likes rough games 42

Does not like rough games 48

III. In relation to the family

Yes No

Frequently angry with siblings 41 45

Proud of siblings when commended 60 40

Statements and factors about which opinions are very diverse :

a wide distribution of ratings and no clustering:

Getting good marks in all school work

The way in which the subject is treated compared to the treatment given to her siblings

Enjoyment of reading

Intellectual brightness

Number of friends possessed

Descriptive Summary

1. Physical beauty, physical skill, and sex role are not sources of anxiety or discontent. The girls are fairly satisfied with their person and clothes but regard themselves as inferior to boys in sport. In this general area of physical attributes they tend to rate themselves consistently and as a group neither high nor low.

2. There is little unanimity in their rating of intellectual ability and school attainments.

3. Socially they are outgoing in attitude liking to be involved in situations and activities with a group preferably small, and, especially in sport, female. They are unsure of, or deny their ability to assume leadership of a group but have a strong wish to be liked. There is little evidence of any strong heterosexual interest, most claiming to have few boy-friends and disclaiming wanting to mix with boys. They indicate that their popularity is confined to their own sex.

4. Parent-child relationships are presented as very satisfactory. The girls rate themselves as obedient and appreciative of or readily responsive to parental direction,

and their parents as affectionate and without sibling favourites. However few think they satisfy their parents' chief criterion of an ideal daughter.

5. Attitudes to siblings are neither consistent within individuals nor in general agreement for the group; a certain lack of empathy with or tolerance of siblings is suggested.

Analysis (B)

Primary School Boys - Grade VI Composition of the Group

School A N = 7

School B N = 19

Total N = 26

A. General Criticism

Some items in Section Four of the Rogers' Test of Personality Adjustment for boys are more specifically defined and consequently present more limited stereotypes than do the items for the girls, for example items 1, 2, 3, 7, in comparison with items 1 and 2 for the girls. Also for those stereotypes which are qualified by more than one criterion, the subject's self-rating will depend on which criteria or criterion he sees as being the most basic or most important. So in item 1 of Section Four some subjects may assume that the factors to consider are size or strength, or both; others may put the

emphasis on skill in fighting; and it is questionable that a complex of size, strength and fighting skill can reasonably be comprised by children in a single rating. This could account for some of the apparent discrepancy between the responses some subjects make to roughly corresponding items. Take, for example, item IV-1 (the subject rating himself against Peter, the stereotype of the strong boy who can beat any other boy in a fight) and item V-3 "How strong are you?" One would reasonably expect that the greater the difference from Peter, that is the less big and strong the subject thinks he is - the more likely he would be to check (a) or (b) for item V-3. This does not necessarily happen. The incompatibility of scores may be due to the qualifications or elaborations given in defining Peter: Peter is not only big and strong but also he can beat any of the other boys in a fight; item V-3 is concerned only with strength. Two thirds of the boys align themselves positively with Peter, 9 completely identifying with him; 8 rank themselves on the negative side. Of these 8, 4, as might be expected, rate themselves on V-3 as "not strong" but of the other 4, 3 say they are strong and one says that he is the strongest in the class.

The question is, then, whether these 4 latter subjects ignored strength in item IV-1 and marked themselves as inadequate

in size and/or fighting skill, hence their unlike-ness to the stereotype. There is no way of checking this, and so a positive correlation cannot be safely assumed to exist between items IV-1 and V-3. Similarly the specificity of items IV-3 and IV-7 allow for apparently contradictory responses on item V-1.

1. Personal Adequacy

(a) Physical adequacy, physical appearance, motor skill. In the competitive use of strength, but not in its innate possession, the boys feel threatened. Assuming that the boys considered all 3 qualifications stated in item 1 of Section Four, one boy in every 3 describes himself as big and strong and skilful enough to beat any of the other boys in a fight, another one in every 3 rates his strength and consequent chance of winning a fight at something more like 50:50. But for Section Five, item 3, 3 boys in every 4, whether they can fight or not, say they are strong;

TABLE 41

Responses to Rogers' Test of Personality

Adjustment : Section Four : Primary School

Boys : Grade VI

Area	Item no.	Details of the item	Type of distribution				Details of * distribution
			I	II	III	IV	
Personal adequacy	1	powerful	x				68% rate 0-4 (i.e. positive) 36% rate 0-1
	2	enjoys reading		x			48% rate 0-1, remainder scattered
	3	good at football	x				47% rate 0-1-2; 68% rate 0-4 (i.e. positive)
	4	gets good school marks	x				88% rate 0-4 (i.e. positive)
	7	has poor knowledge of sports		x			58% rate 9; remainder scattered
	11	"dumb" at lessons		x			68% rate 9; remainder scattered
Social adequacy	14	brightest boy	x				73% rate 0-4 (i.e. positive)
	6	a leader	x				42% rate 9; 31% rate 4-5
	9	most popular	x				54% rate positive; 46% rate negative
	10	has many girl friends	x				58% rate negative pole; 23% rate positive pole; 19% rate central

(Table continued on next page)

TABLE 41 (cont.)

Area	Item no.	Details of the item	Type of distribution				Details of * distribution
			I	II	III	IV	
Social adequacy	13	has most spending money	x				48% rate 9; 31% rate 4-5
Family relationships	8	obedient to mother				x	40% rate positive pole; 73% rate 0-4
	12	disdains parental advice				x	58% rate negative pole
	16	is angry with siblings				x	64% rate negative pole
Withdrawal	5	prefers imaginary world to real world	x				73% rate negative pole
	15	prefers fantasizing to playing games	x				96% rate negative pole

* Points range from 0 (absolute identity with stereotype)
to 9 (greatest dissimilarity from stereotype)

and the remaining 25 per cent although not so strong, reject the classification of "weak."

One third of the boys (8), say they "don't know how to play" the games of basketball, football, and baseball (which are specifically named), 25 per cent thoroughly denigrate their skill at ball games in general - either they "can't play at all," or they can play "only a little bit." The remainder think they play them "pretty well" (16) or are "the best (players) in the class" (4). But for specific expertness at football, almost half (12 out of 26) say they are "Eds" or nearly as good as "Ed" who is the best football player in the school. Only 3 modestly deny all approximation to Ed's skill, though 2 out of these say that, nevertheless, they can play ball games in general "pretty well." It appears probable that where less practised games such as basketball and baseball are included, the boys make more restricted claims for their prowess; where football alone is concerned, more are convinced of their ability (or perhaps wishfull of success) and indicate higher - and probably extravagant - claims and rankings.

Assessments of personal appearance are a little more restrained and possibly more realistic than those of sports

ability and motor skills. Nine think themselves not very good looking, one even says he is "not at all good looking," but 20 are as good looking as most or, in the case of 6 of them, very good looking. Broadly speaking the boys are rather ambivalent about physical adequacy. The majority of them see themselves as good looking enough, and, apart from some uncertainty about more exotic ball games, skilful enough at sport, but should their strength be put to the test in physical competition they are less sure of themselves. This degree of adequacy is apparently not satisfying and the wish "to be stronger" receives the overwhelmingly highest number of choices amongst all the wishes - 17 first choices, 3 seconds, and 2 thirds - with the wish "to play games better" getting another 10 choices, and "to be better looking" another 8. These 3 wishes taken together suggest not only an appreciation of physical power and physical attractiveness but also a sense of competitiveness which requires that physical strength and skill should be sufficient to enable them to excel in contest.

(b) Intellectual ability and school achievement. There is an interesting concordance between physical and intellectual superiority; 12 self-styled strongest and best fighters are

also 8 of the 12 who rate themselves "brightest in school" and least "dumb" in school work, but the association does not hold true at the other extreme: the weakest physically do not also rate themselves as the least-bright. Intellectual ability tends to be optimistically assessed : 73 per cent (19) rank themselves as more, rather than less, like the brightest boy in the school.

There is fairly sustained agreement between self-ratings on intellectual ability, understanding of school lessons and school attainment as expressed in school marks. Seventy-seven per cent (20) give a pattern of comparable self ratings on these 3 scales. With the remaining 6 the disagreement lies between external measures of success and the other two attributes.

Overall there is little evidence amongst these boys of pronounced feelings of inferiority about intellectual capacity and achievement. Only 4 place themselves low in the scales for brightness and understanding, and only one puts himself really low on attainment as shown by school marks. Admittedly "to be brighter than I am now" is wished by 9 boys (1 first choice, 5 second, and 3 third choice), 2 of them from the 4 just mentioned above. But this wish is far exceeded in popularity by the 2 wishes relating to physical adequacy,

namely "to be stronger" and "to play games better."

Few boys (5) appear to dislike reading to any marked degree and indeed it cannot be certain, because of the wording of the item, whether such negative attitudes as are shown are to reading itself or to the reading of books of the specific types listed.

2. Social Adequacy

(a) The group unanimously expresses liking for lively group activity and scorns the idea that solitary fantasizing is more fun than playing games, though 3 who feel they are poor at games think their fellows do not want them in their play groups. All except 4 prefer the events and people of the real world to the controlled happenings of the fantasy world in spite of the fact that only 6 claim that they never have mean tricks played on them by other children. Two-thirds of the group (17) enjoy rough games such as football and wrestling very much; 4 do not like them at all, and 3 of these 4 prefer reading to participation in rough games. The preferred size of play groups (as opposed to sports groups) is small - just one or 2 others - which would suggest that for the boys as for the girls the "gang" stage has passed.

(b) Peer relationships: Claims about the numbers of

friends the subjects have are diverse; 8 say one or 2 friends, 8 a few, 5 say many and 5 say "hundreds." The extravagance of this latter claim made by 5 boys hints at some lack of reality or marked degree of maladjustment, and in the case of 3, and to a lesser degree, of the fourth, the suggestion of maladjustment is further present in responses to other questions. One ranks himself as unsurpassed in strength, intelligence, and popularity, but inferior in school attainment, unable to play games, not wanting to grow up, liked better than his siblings by parents. Another also describes himself as the "best," the "strongest," popular, but liked only second best by parents, envious of his siblings, and not wanting to grow up. The third also claims to be the strongest, says he is never meanly treated by his fellows, has a thoroughly "don't care" attitude about his siblings and about how other people feel about him, but at the same time wishes boys and girls liked him better.

Twenty-two of the boys like to be ⁴liked, but only 14 say they try to make people like them. The other 4, in spite of alleging that they "don't care a bit" whether people like them, class themselves as not-popular and say they want to have many friends or that they wish boys and girls liked them better. The need to be accepted by other people is therefore universal

for the group; everyone wants friends.

Ratings on popularity amongst peers without regard to the sex of the peers, are spread in a relatively unclustered fashion over the full 10 points of the scale. Perhaps popularity is a difficult aspect for children of this age to rate themselves on: to know or assess how much one is liked could be more difficult than to know when one is not liked. Except for 2 boys who think girls like them better than boys do and who also claim to have more girl friends than the other fellows, the group splits evenly into those who are liked better by their own sex and those who say they are equally popular with both sexes though this is apparently not synonymous with having lots of girl friends. There are significantly more at the "have-not" than at the "have" extreme of the girl friends scale (13:6) and in the negative than in the positive half of the same scale (16:10).

Leadership too is not a quality the boys are prepared to claim. Eleven rank themselves frankly as not being leaders, 10 group round the mid-point of the scale. The general pattern is to want acceptance and affection but to be unsure of having either wide popularity or recognition as a leader.

Peers come only second after fathers, as the chosen companions for special social occasions and even then are ^{no} chosen more frequently than mothers. The move to break away from the home is evidently not yet pronounced.

Chosen companion for "special" outings	<u>No. of choices</u>		
	1st	2nd	3rd
Father	10	7	3
Best friend	6	5	9
Mother	2	11	7
Other	8	3	7

(c) Attitude to possessions: Spending money, unlike strength and good marks, is something in which few boys claim to exceed to their fellows. In comparing themselves with Don who "has more spending money than other boys" 12 boys rank themselves right at the remote extremity of the scale and one other close to it. All except 2 of the remainder put themselves no closer to Don than the midpoint of the scale. Also 8 would, as a second or third wish, like to have more money to spend.

Every boy says that his school dress is at least adequate and "nice enough" and 15 (58 per cent) go further and say they have "very good clothes."

3. Family Relationships

(a) Parent-child relationships are depicted by the majority as fairly harmonious. Most of the boys (73 per cent) by rating themselves in the positive halves of the two scales IV-8 and IV-12, indicate that they think they are usually fairly obedient and ready to accept parental advice because of their own lack of maturity. Forty-eight per cent of them claim to behave this way invariably. This compliance does not preclude almost half of the total group from preferring to do things their own way. Only one of the 7 actively disobedient boys, according to their self ratings, indicates that his behaviour may be motivated by a sense of parental rejection. Parents are, however, classified by about one quarter (7) of the boys as having moderately or strongly rejecting attitudes.

(b) Sibling relationships. Attitude to siblings is alleged by most to be tolerant. Half of those with siblings (11) say they are proud when their siblings are praised, 4 (15 per cent) are resentful, but 30 per cent think that there are occasions - varying in frequency of occurrence - when their siblings are treated better by other people than they are. Fighting and bickering with siblings is infrequent according to nearly two thirds of the boys.

(c) The future. All except 3 regard the present and the relatively near future as the best time of their lives. Though most think they would enjoy being grown up, only one wishes he were grown up now and could get away from home; and he characterises himself further as hating being told what to do, thinking that one has most fun when one is a young child, being in frequent clashes with siblings, and neither very popular nor a leader at school. There is an element of the unrealistic and immature in their ideas of the future in that almost one third (8) of them say they want a rather exotic future such as being a very great person, or not growing up at all. Somewhat fewer parents (4) are thought to share these ideas.

(d) Parent ideals. The subjects' ideas of what their parents would most approve in a boy are shown below (Table 42).

The ideals thought to be favoured by fathers and mothers do not differ greatly. Over half the group (16) believe that one or other of the parents would like their son to be outstanding in the intellectual field, but fathers are thought to value physical toughness and footballing skill more than mothers. Mothers, on the other hand, tend to be seen as having more admiration for social conformity. Parental agreement in the matter of the most desirable

TABLE 42

Stereotypes Most Approved by Parents

Primary Boys (N=25)*

No. of item or stereotype	Detail of the item	No. of parents choosing		
		Mothers	Fathers	Total
4	gets good school marks	7	3	10
14	intellectually bright	4	6	10
8	obedient to mother	6	3	9
3	good at football	2	6	8
1	a big, strong, good fighter	1	4	5
9	popular	2	1	3
13	superior in amount of spending money	2	-	2
2	keen reader	1	-	1
10	has many girl friends	-	1	1
16	tolerant of siblings	-	1	1
Total no. of stereo- types		25*	25*	50*
10	Totals	25*	25*	50*

* One boy did not complete this section

qualities is infrequent - only 4 boys select the same or closely-similar stereotypes as the ideal of both parents.

Even so, the differences between ideals seldom suggest the likelihood of creating conflict for the boy who tries to

satisfy both parents. For example, there need be little incompatibility between being, say, obedient to the mother and successful at football.

The boys evidently feel that they have greater success in measuring up to the father's ideal than to the mother's. Significantly more of them ($p < .05$) rate themselves as just like, or very close to the father's ideal (that is, 0 or 1 point from the stereotype), than to the mother's ideal. Significantly more are extremely un-like the mother's ideal than the father's and the mean points of difference for all the boys from the mother's ideal is greater than the mean difference from the father's ideal ($t = 1.8$, $df = 24$; $p < .05$).

4. Wishes

The qualities in which most boys wish they could be better are those that are judged as being most admired by their fathers. All except 3 boys wish to be stronger; 10 (40 per cent) wish they could play games better.

The third and fourth most frequent choices are "to be brighter" and "to be better looking." These seldom appear to bear any relationship to the subject's notion of the father's or mother's ideal or to any expression of his own feelings of inferiority about ability or school attainment or physical looks. They apparently spring from a simple

Table 43

Self-ratings on Parentally-approved Stereotypes

Primary Boys (N=25)*

Points of difference between stereotype and self-rating	Number of boys showing these differences for	
	Mother's ideal	Father's ideal
9	7	1
8	1	-
7	1	-
6	-	1
5	2	1
4	5	5
3	1	3
2	3	2
1	1	3
0	4	9
Total N	118 4.72	56 2.24

* One boy did not complete.

desire for physical enhancement, rather than from a need for compensation.

There is no item in Section Two corresponding exactly with, or dealing directly with, obedience to mothers - a

quality thought by 9 boys to be one of the most admired by their parents - but in so far as obedience is likely to be associated with good parent-child relationships, items c and n may be considered. Only 3 boys choose these items as wishes and only one of these is amongst the subjects who nominate obedience as a parental ideal. Presumably the consequences of lapses in obedience are not so distressing as to inspire fear of a loss of parental acceptance.

TABLE 44
Choice of Wishes
Primary Boys (N=25)

Item Content	No. of subjects choosing			Rank of* choice	Area of self-concept concerned
	1st	2nd	3rd		
(a) to be stronger	17	3	2	1	personal adequacy : physical
(b) to be better liked by peers		2	2		social adequacy : peers
(c) to get along better with parents	1				family relationships : parent-child
(d) to be brighter	1	5	3	3	personal adequacy : intellectual
(e) to play games better	3	4	3	2	personal adequacy : motor skills/ social adequacy
(f) to have different parents		1			family relationships : parent/ child
(g) to be a girl					personal adequacy : physical
(i) to be bigger		1	5		personal adequacy : physical appearance and adequacy
(j) to have more money	1	2	5	5	social adequacy : possessions
(k) to be grown up and leave home			1		social adequacy : attitudes/ family relationships
(l) to have more friends		1	2		social adequacy : peers
(m) to be better looking	1	5	2	4	personal adequacy : appearance
(n) to have parents love me more	1	1			family relationships : parent-child

* Points per rank of choice given arbitrarily as 1st choice = 3 points, 2nd choice = 2 points
3rd choice = 1 point.

A Statistical Summary of features of the self-picture of primary boys as shown by response and ratings given on Rogers' test of Personality Adjustment:-

Statements which the majority (15/25 or 16/26 or more, i.e. 60 per cent or more) claim as being true for them.

(In Section Four a statement is accepted as true for any rating not more than two points distant from the stereotype.)

<u>I. In Relation to Personal Adequacy</u>		3
Strong		68
Pretty good (or very good) at ball games		68
Would like to be grown up		73
As good looking as , or better looking than most boys and girls		77 (54 + 23)
Want to be an ordinary, happy adult with a good job		72
<u>II. Socially</u>		
Enjoys playing games with other boys and girls		92
Prefers playing games with just one or two others		65
Likes <u>rough</u> games very much		65
Sometimes (or frequently) suffers mean tricks from other children		76 (54 + 12)
Sometimes (or often) not so well-treated as siblings by other people (calculated for only those with siblings)		77 (50 + 27)
Has nice (or very good) clothes for school		100 (42 + 58)

III. In Relation to the Family

Parents want him to be a happy, ordinary
adult with a good job 84

Statements which the majority reject (Rejection
is considered to have been made if the rating is 7, 8, or
9 points distant from identification with the stereotype.)

I. In Relation to Personal Adequacy

Does not know how to play baseball,
football or basketball 62

Is pretty "dumb" at school work 68

II. Socially

Finds make-believe friends and the
make-believe world nicer than real world 85

Enjoys solitary imagining in preference
to playing games 100

Has lots of girl friends 58

III. In Relation to the Family

Frequently fights with siblings 76 (of those
with siblings)

Does not want to mind (accept advice
from) father and mother; feels old
enough to make own decisions 65

Statements and factors about which group is divided
in opinions but some clustering shown. (At least 9, or 33%,
constitute a cluster.)

I. In Relation to Personal Adequacy

Big and strong, good at fighting Good 48 Mod. good 28

Best footballer in school	Good 43	Mod. good 36
Does not mind being told by others how to do things	33	
Prefers doing things his own way	42	
Plenty of spending money : not true	46	
Plenty of spending money : moderate agreement	33	
Gets good marks for all school work	44	
The best time in life is younger than now	50	
The best time in life is between now and adulthood	46	

II. Socially

A leader : not true	42	
A leader : moderately successful	38	
Liked best by boys	46	
Liked equally by boys and girls	46	
Tries hard to be liked	46	
Doesn't try hard but is glad when liked	31	
Has a few good friends	60	
Has many or hundreds of friends	40	

III. In Relation to Family

	Yes	No
Always obedient to mother	50	31
Proud of siblings when praised	50	50

	Yes	No
Liked by parents as much as other siblings	57	33

Statements and factors about which opinions are very diverse

Enjoyment of reading

Intellectual brightness

Popularity

Amount of antagonism felt when
siblings praised

Descriptive Summary

1. There is some ambivalence about physical adequacy. Many seem doubtful about winning in competitive situations which depend on physical strength, hence there is widespread wishing for greater strength and more skill at games.

2. Few regard themselves in relation to their peers as low in intelligence and unsuccessful in school-work. Those who claim most superiority in the intellectual area tend to claim most superiority in the physical area also.

3. Socially they are engrossed in, and "in love with" reality. They prefer intimate social groups - as opposed to sports groups - to be small, or rather to be pairs and trios rather than groups, although they want to be generally liked and accepted. They enjoy physically-demanding sports.

Interest in heterosexual social relationships is apparent but ratings on success in them are widely dispersed.

4. The majority regard themselves as obedient and attentive and submissive to their parents but almost half of them would prefer to do things their own way. About one quarter of them feel to some degree, rejected by their parents.

5. Sibling relationships are presented as tolerant but rather detached.

Analysis (c)

Secondary School Girls - First Year : B Class

Composition of the Group

ex-School A N = 6

ex-School B N = 23

Total N = 29

1. Personal Adequacy

(a) Physical adequacy, physical appearance, motor skills: In ranking themselves comparative to the stereotype for prettiness, all except one of the subjects place themselves in the negative half of the range with

over half of them (59 per cent) right at the negative pole. They modify the apparent extremity of these self-estimates a little in their responses to item 12 of Section Five where, though 12 (41 per cent) designate themselves as "not very good looking", 16 (55 per cent) say they are "as good looking as most boys and girls" and no one thinks so badly of herself as to be "not at all good looking."

In estimates of their comparability with boys at ball games and swimming, the subjects range very evenly from complete agreement to complete disagreement that they are just as good as boys, although 25 (87 per cent) consider that as girls they play ball games "pretty well." Even so, skill at games is a sufficiently desirable attribute that 8 subjects (7 of whom think they are already "pretty good"), wish they could be even better (see Table 48).

Twenty-one (72%) classify themselves as physically strong and none of the other 8 "not very strong" subjects expresses any wish to be stronger. Strength is one factor which they seem almost unanimously content with. To have greater strength gets only two second choices and one third choice from the whole group. To be "better looking" is a state much more desired. Twenty-two of

the 29 girls mark this as one of their wishes, and for 8 it is their first choice.

This is a marked increase in emphasis compared with the previous year, and such a generally-felt wish suggests the development of new values, probably, one would suspect, in association with a changing attitude to heterosexual society. This would be in keeping with the denial of any hankering to be a boy. Though not significantly more girls than in the previous year entirely disparage the idea of envy of the male, there is a general shift of the total group further away from the positive or "envy" end of the scale, and only one girl chooses as one of her wishes - her third - "to be a boy."

(b) Intellectual ability and school achievement. There is a little change from the previous year in the pattern of self-ratings for marks gained for school work. That is, again only a few (5) consider their marks to be consistently good, the majority rate their attainment as neither good nor bad; but there is now no clustering at the negative pole. All the girls who in the primary year rated themselves low on school marks now place themselves near the middle of the scale. This may possibly be due to two facts. First, at secondary school these children

TABLE 45
Responses to Rogers' Test of Personality Adjustment ; Section IV
Secondary Girls (N=29)

Area	Item no.	Details of the item	Type of Distribution				Details of distribution *
			I	II	III	IV	
Personal Adequacy	1	prettiest girl	x				59% rate 8-9; 34% rate 5-6; 97% rate 5-9 (i.e. in negative half of scale)
	2	good at sport			x		
	3	gets good school marks			x		66% rate 3-4-5-6
	4	enjoys reading				x	52% rate 0-1-2; 48% scattered
	11	envies boy's role	x				86% rate 7-8-9 (72% rate 9)
	13	brightest girl		x			41% rate 7-8-9; 41% rate 3-4-5
Social Adequacy	8	plays with boys	x				66% rate 7-8-9; 93% rate 5-9 (i.e. negative)
	17	has many boy friends	x				83% rate 7-8-9
	5	enjoys parties	x				70% rate 0-1-2; 93% rate 0-4 (i.e. positive)
	10	is most popular	x				70% rate 4-5-6
	9	is a leader			x		
	7	has nicest clothes	x				62% rate 3-4-5; 28% rate 0-1-2.
	16	has most spending money	x				87% rate 7-8-9; 97% rate 5-9 (i.e. negative)

(Table continued on next page)

TABLE 45 (cont.)

Area	Item no.	Details of the item	Type of Distribution				Details of distribution
			I	II	III	IV	
Family relations	6	obedient to mother				x	60% rate 0-1-2; 93% rate 0-6 (i.e. positive)
	12	disdains parental advice	x				90% rate 6-7-8-9
	15	is angry with siblings				x	60% rate 6-7-8-9; 38% scattered
Withdrawal	14	prefers imaginary world to real world		x			86% rate 7-8-9; 93% rate 6-9 (i.e. negative)
	18	prefers fantasizing to playing games		x			86% rate 8-9; 100% rate 6-7-8-9

Points range from 0 (absolute identity with stereotype) to 9 (greatest dissimilarity from stereotype).

have been "streamed" into groups of roughly comparable ability and are taught and examined accordingly so that with modified standards and requirements they are likely to score better marks. Secondly, work in secondary school tends to be examined by essay type answers which have to be marked subjectively. When marking subjectively teachers often limit themselves to using, in a nominal range of 0 to 10 marks, an actual range of say 3 to 9 and place the pass or "promotion" cutting-point at 4 or 4.5 rather than at the theoretical pass mark of the mid-point 5, so that only a small percentage of the class members is left down or "failed." So even dull children may get marks at a pass level, and "good" marks (if "good" is construed as marks adequate to obtain promotion - that is, "good enough" marks) are obtained by some 80 per cent or more of the children in the class. However success in streamed classes evidently has not lured the subjects into estimating themselves as intellectually "bright" or even as brighter than before. The distribution of self-ratings on brightness shows a shift towards the negative pole so that 76 per cent (22) are in the negative half of the scale and only 2 rank themselves as at all approaching,

though not actually as, "the brightest." They are, too, not generally content with their degree of brightness: 18 (68 per cent) "wish to be brighter."

Attitudes to reading remain widely varied. Only 11 now identify with the stereotype, compared with 14 the preceding year; 66 per cent still do claim enjoyment, but changes in ratings on enjoyment have not been consistent in direction.

2. Social Adequacy

(a) Group situations: Enthusiasm for real-life group situations and activities prevails. Sixteen girls "adore" parties and even the 2 least enthusiastic put themselves no lower in enjoyment of them than the middle of the scale. Only one girl is not fond of group games and that, she says, is "because I can't play games very well." No-one ranks sitting alone and fantasizing as more fun than games-playing and 25 entirely reject this idea. Only 2 make a rather weak claim to a make-believe world of adventure and companions superior to the real world.

Gang-play with boys appears to have decreased; only 2 indicate that they do more than very occasionally play in a mixed gang and two thirds of the group reject such behaviour strongly. Rough games just do not appeal. They

like them only a little or not at all, though it is interesting that the rather violent reaction given by a third of the girls in the previous year - hating to be pushed or pulled about - does not occur on this occasion: perhaps they do not object to physical contact but to the unfeminine nature of rough games.

(b) Peer relationships: The favoured size for the everyday social group is one or two. Most subjects (20) claim to have just a few good friends. These are still primarily friends of the same sex. Twenty say "girls like me better than boys do"; 9 say they are "popular with both boys and girls." Twenty-one strongly desire and work hard to achieve social acceptance and only 3 profess "not to care a bit" if they do not get it. However, they are by no means optimistic that they do achieve popularity and leadership. Only 6 put themselves in the positive half of both popularity and leadership scales, 11 others rate themselves positively (but only slightly over the mid-point) on one or other of the two scales. The weight of numbers in both scales lies on the negative side. Almost all (25) suffer having mean tricks sometimes played on them by other children, but no-one suffers them very often.

They still, with one exception, think they have not many boy-friends.

Their preferred companions, that is, the one given the first of 3 choices, on "special" outings (for example, a trip to the circus), are not their peers but mothers (21) and fathers (5). Fathers also get 18 second choices whereas "best friends" get no first choices, only 3 second choices, and 22 third choices.

(c) Possessions: All members of the group express satisfaction with their clothes. Though only 4 say their clothes are the nicest of anyone's in the class, they all say their clothes are "very good" (13) or "nice enough" (16). There is almost unanimous denial of having more spending money than the others. One girl only ranks herself close to the stereotype. (One wonders, therefore, if her claims are those of a singularly fortunate child, or whether this claim of relatively plentiful spending money along with her other claims to be the most popular girl in the school and the prettiest, to have lots of boy-friends, to be the brightest, to have the nicest clothes, to be able to run and swim as well as any boy, is part of a complex deceit to reassure herself. At least on the matter of intelligence her claim is extravagant as she tests at only the level of good average.)

3. Family Relationships

(a) Parent-child relationships: Items 6 and 12 in Section Four are concerned respectively with obedience and with willingness to accept parental advice, and from most children they receive fairly comparable ranks. Twenty-five of the 29 girls regard themselves as being fairly obedient to their mothers - 17 as almost always so - and 27 of the 29 as not wishing to exert their independence at the expense of disregarding their parents' opinions. Only 3 claim to be obedient while not wanting to be because of considering that they are old enough to decide things for themselves. There is no significant change in the numbers who prefer to do things their own way (10); and the big majority (19) still allege they feel no objection to being told how to do things.

Ratings by the subjects of the parents' attitudes to them are similar to those given the preceding year. Parents are not guilty of showing favouritism among their children, so no one wants to change her parents and only 3, compared with 6 in the previous year, wish their parents would show them more love.

(b) Sibling relationships: Ratings on tolerance for siblings are spread over the whole range, but 18 out of 28 claim that anger with their siblings is infrequent and only 4 admit to being often cross.

Taken in conjunction with item V-11, where 26 of the 28 subjects (one of the 29 girls is an only child) say they feel proud when their siblings are given praise - and the other 2 "don't care" - and with the opinion of 21⁴ subjects that their parents like them well enough but not better than their siblings, sibling as well as family relationships would seem to be fairly good; good enough to withstand the possibility of some degree of threat from the feeling held by 21 girls that siblings are treated better by other people than they themselves are. (Sometimes - 19; often - 1; almost always - 1.)

(c) The future: Only 3 are content with their present age, 26 would rather be grown-up. But again this hankering for adulthood is not a vital thing since it figures only 3 times in the chosen wishes in Section Two.

No girl seems to feel unduly "pushed" by ambitious parents, or at least each professes to see her parents' ambition as identical with her own, namely, that she should grow up to be a "happy, ordinary person with a good job."

If there were any sense of pushing, it would, one surmises, be implied in the qualification "good."

TABLE 46

Stereotype Most Approved by Parents

Secondary Girls (N=29)

No. of item or stereotype	Details of the item	No. of parents choosing		Total	
		Mothers	Fathers		
6	obedient to mother	22	9	31	
5	gets good school marks	3	11	14	
2	has high sporting ability	1	6	7	
13	intellectually bright	1	2	3	
14	enjoys solitary imaginings	1	1	2	
Sample item	good runner	1	-	1	
No. of stereo- types chosen	6	Totals	29	29	58

The prevailing opinion is that obedience is the quality mothers most admire in daughters. Rather less than a quarter of the group names any other quality as the maternal ideal. Fathers' ideals, on the contrary, appear more varied, with nearly 50 per cent of fathers postulated as

preferring scholastic success or ability, and 50 per cent divided between preferring obedience (30 per cent) and sporting ability (20 per cent). (Table 46)

More than half the girls depict themselves as strongly resembling or identical with the maternal ideal, and three quarters of them classify themselves as like, rather than unlike, the ideals of both parents. The alleged closeness to parental ideals is significantly greater than in the previous year ($p < .01$). (Table 47)

This emphasis on obedience - even more fathers than in the previous year are thought to prefer it - and the success implied in their claim to measure up fairly closely to this prime parental requirement, suggest social awareness, a strong need of social acceptance and a readiness to conform in order to get it. This is further borne out by the number of the subjects who say they try hard to make people like them, and by the priority given to wishes for qualities which would be personally and socially enhancing.

4. Wishes (Table 48)

The 3 wishes most frequently chosen are, in order:

to be better looking

to be brighter

to have more friends

TABLE 47

Self-ratings on parentally-approved stereotypes

Secondary Girls (N=29)

Points of difference between stereotype and self-rating	Number of girls showing these differences for	
	Mother's ideal	Father's ideal
9	2	1
8	1	-
7	-	1
6	-	3
5	4	5
4	4	5
3	2	3
2	7	2
1	3	2
0	6	7
Total	85	94
\bar{M}	2.93	3.24

In view of their concerted denial that they are especially good-looking or intelligent and of the claim of the big majority to value being liked, the choice of these 3 wishes seems logical and realistic. When one further

considers the emphasis they put on enjoyment of group activities, especially parties, and their almost unanimously stated preference for grown-upness (25 subjects), one might explain their desire for better looks and more friends as wanting to enhance their present personal value and establish secure foundations for social status in the future. However, they are still at school where emphasis on academic success is strong, and they want, and their parents want for them, "good" jobs for which school success and examination certificates are desirable if not prerequisites, and 11 fathers and 3 mothers are seen as admiring school-success beyond anything else. So their wish "to be brighter" is also realistic and practical.

It is in keeping with the lack of problems expressed in area HF on the Problem Check List that wishes c, f, k, n, all dealing with parent-child relationships should so seldom be chosen. At a conscious level little strain in parent-child relationships is either felt or admitted.

TABLE 48
Choice of Wishes
Secondary Girls (N=29)

Item Content	No. of subjects choosing			Rank of choice*	Area of self-concept concerned
	1st	2nd	3rd		
(a) to be stronger		2	1		personal adequacy : physical
(b) to be better liked by peers	4		2	5.5	social adequacy : peers
(c) to get along better with parents		1			family relationships : parent-child
(d) to be intellectually brighter	7	5	5	2	personal adequacy : intellectual
(e) to play games better	3	2	3	4	personal adequacy : motor skills : social adequacy
(f) to have different parents					family relationships : parent/child
(g) to be a boy			1		personal adequacy : physical
(i) to be bigger	3	2	1	5.5	personal adequacy : physical appearance and adequacy
(j) to have more money	1	1	3		social adequacy : possessions
(k) to be grown up and leave home	1	1	1		social adequacy attitudes : family relationships
(l) to have more friends	1	7	4	3	social adequacy : peers
(m) to be better looking	8	8	6	1	personal adequacy : appearance
(n) to have more love from parents	1		2		family relationships : parent-child
	29	29	29		

* Points per rating given arbitrarily as: 1st choice = 3 points, 2nd choice = 2 points
3rd choice = 1 point

A Statistical Summary of features of the self-picture of secondary girls as shown by responses and ratings given on Rogers' Test of Personality Adjustment:-

Statements which the majority (17 or more, i.e. 60 per cent or more) claim as being true for them. (In Section Four a statement is accepted as true for ratings not more than two points distant from the stereotype.)

<u>I. In Relation to Personal Adequacy:</u>		%
Can play ball games pretty well		86
Strong		72
Would like to be grown up		90
Want to be an ordinary, happy adult with a good job		100
<u>II. In Relation to Social Adequacy</u>		
Adores parties and has a good time at them	69	
Enjoys playing with other boys and girls	100	
Enjoys playing games with just one or two others	90	
Sometimes suffers mean tricks from other children	86	
Sometimes (or often) not so well treated as siblings by other people	72	
Better liked by girls than boys	69	
Thinks the most fun in life occurs between ages 12 and 25 years	62	
Has nice (or very good) clothes for school	100	
Wants and tries hard to gain people's liking	72	

<u>III. In Relation to the Family</u>	5
Obedient to mother	60
Equally well-liked as other siblings by parents	79
Proud when siblings commended	93
Parents want her to be a happy, ordinary adult with a good job	100

Statements which the majority reject. (Rejection is
considered to have been made if ratings are 7, 8, or 9 points
distant from identification with the stereotype.)

I. In Relation to Personal Adequacy

The prettiest girl in the school	62
Wants to be a boy (so as to have a better time)	86

II. In Relation to Social Adequacy

Always plays with a gang of boys	66
Has lots of boy-friends	83
Has more spending money than other girls	86
Finds make-believe world nicer than the real world	86
Prefers solitary imaginings to game- playing	97

III. In Relation to the Family

Does not want to mind (accept advice from) parents : thinks herself old enough to make own decisions	72
--	----

Statements and factors about which group is divided in opinion but some clustering is shown (at least 10, or 33% constitutes a cluster).

I.	<u>In Relation to Personal Adequacy</u>	%
	Enjoys reading	52
	Brightest girl in school (denied)	40
	As good looking as most girls and boys	55
II.	<u>In Relation to Social Adequacy</u>	
	Enjoys playing with other boys and girls very much	62
	Has many friends	31
	Has a few good friends	69
	Wants many friends	45
	Wants a few good friends	55
	Better liked by girls than boys	69
	Popular with both girls and boys	31
	Is a leader (denied)	48
	Likes rough games a little	48
	Does not like rough games at all	52
III.	<u>In Relation to the Family</u>	
	Frequently angry with siblings (denied)	52

Likes to be told how to do things	28
Does not mind being told how to do things	38
Prefers not to be told how to do things	34

Statements and factors about which opinions are very diverse

Skill at sport in comparison with boys' skill

Attainment of good marks for school work

Degree of intellectual brightness in relation to the brightest girl in the school

Popularity

Leadership

Degree of niceness of clothes in comparison with best dressed girl in the school

Descriptive Summary

1. The B Class girls are critical of their degree of physical beauty and almost unanimously wish they could be prettier. There is less discontent expressed about their skill at games: most think they are pretty good at games but doubt they can equal boys in skill.

2. They have a rather lower estimate of their intellectual capacity than indicated in Grade VI but a higher estimate of actual school success. This may be

be attributable to the effects of placement in "streamed" classes in the secondary school.

3. They are satisfied with their sex role and strongly deny masculine envy. They enjoy parties and activities and games which are not too rough, and the phantasy-world offers little counter-attraction to the real world.

The every-day social group is, by preference, small. Most girls like to have, and do have, just a few good friends of their own sex. They want to be liked but few feel that they achieve any notable degree of either popularity or leadership amongst either boys or girls. Social awareness appears to be increasing.

4. Parents are described as being affectionate and accepting and daughters as usually obedient and submissive. There is almost unanimous agreement that mothers wish most for obedience in their daughters, but fathers are thought to favour school-success and obedience, and sporting prowess.

Daughters rank themselves closer to the parental ideals than does the Grade VI group - about 75 per cent of them are quite close.

5. Attitudes to siblings are warmer than they are with the Grade VI girls.

Detailed Analysis (D)

Secondary School Boys - First Year : B Class

Composition of the Group

ex-School A $N = 7$ ex-School B $N = 19$ Total $N = 26$ 1. Personal Adequacy

Physical adequacy, physical appearance, motor skills.

In the boys' self-rankings made early in the first year of secondary school a somewhat more moderate picture of physical person and skills is presented than in Grade VI. The subjects are now in a much larger school community of which they are the junior and often the smaller members, and their self-assessments suggest that they are aware of this reduced status. Fewer than one boy in every 4 see themselves as "big, strong boys who can beat all the others in fights"; almost 2 in every 3 put their chances of winning at less than even. This is not because they consider themselves simply as physically weak. On the contrary two-thirds say they are "strong" and only one-third regard themselves as "not very strong," though certainly not "weak."

In knowledge and performance of games they rate themselves more highly. All claim to have a fair knowledge

(average or better) of how to play sports such as baseball, football, basketball - 77 per cent think themselves very knowledgeable - but only one in 3 considers himself the best or nearly the best football player in the school.

They are unanimous in their liking for playing games, most saying they like to play games "a great deal," and, with the exception of 2, they all claim to play "pretty well."

They are confident about their physical looks. The maximum self-derogation is the statement by one boy that he is "not very good-looking." All the others are "as good-looking as most girls and boys" and only 2 express any wish (1 second, 1 third choice), to be better looking. Wishing to be stronger (20 choices) and better at games (10 choices) is much more general. In view of the complacency about their physical appearance and their clothes (see later discussion), one suspects that they are not critical of their personal appearance, and probably not even attentive to it.

(b) Intellectual ability and achievement: Claims to intellectual brightness are very diverse and range fairly evenly from "nearly the brightest" to "not-at-all the brightest" boy in the class. There is, as might be

expected, a slight concentration of ratings about the middle of the range in the area of "average ability", and in contrast to the Grade VI year there is, overall, a slight preponderance of ratings in the negative half of the range (58 per cent).

Self-assessment here is fairly realistic; most of the boys do make ratings approximating to the level of their IQ on the group intelligence test done a couple of years earlier; and their claims are certainly less exaggerated than in Grade VI. They have, of course, the evidence of school marks to help their judgments although they did not appear to be greatly influenced by these in Grade VI. Almost two-thirds (16) rank themselves in the positive half of the school attainment scale, that is, as having average to outstanding marks. The remainder of the group, though in the negative half of the scale, cluster towards the middle, inferring borderline success. They do not accept that because they are not the brightest or even nearly the brightest boys in their class, they are stupid in their work. Eighty-eight per cent repudiate any such possibility, and just one boy categorises himself as being rather "dumb." As a group they rate their school

TABLE 49

Responses to Rogers' Test of Personality Adjustment : Section IV

Secondary Boys (N=26)

Area	Item no.	Details of the item	Type of Distribution				Details of distribution *
			I	II	III	IV	
Personal Adequacy	1	powerful				x	42 $\frac{1}{2}$ rate centrally, 62 $\frac{1}{2}$ in negative half
	2	enjoys reading				x	46 $\frac{1}{2}$ rate 8-9; 77 $\frac{1}{2}$ rate in negative half
	3	good at football				x	65 $\frac{1}{2}$ in negative half
	4	gets good school marks		x			38 $\frac{1}{2}$ rate 0-1-2; 38 $\frac{1}{2}$ rate 5-6-7
	7	has poor knowledge of sports	x				77 $\frac{1}{2}$ rate 8-9
	11	"dumb" at lessons		x			88 $\frac{1}{2}$ rate 7-8-9
Social Adequacy	14	brightest boy				x	58 $\frac{1}{2}$ rate in negative half
	6	a leader				x	65 $\frac{1}{2}$ rate 7-8-9
	9	most popular				x	58 $\frac{1}{2}$ rate centrally
	10	has many girl friends		x			77 $\frac{1}{2}$ rate 6-9
	13	has most spending money				x	58 $\frac{1}{2}$ rate 7-8-9; 77 $\frac{1}{2}$ rate negatively

(Table continued on next page)

TABLE 49 (cont.)

Area	Item no.	Details of the item	Type of Distribution				Details of distribution *
			I	II	III	IV	
Family Relation- ships	8	obedient to mother			x		77% rate in positive half
	12	disdains parental advice		x			62% rate 9; 34% rate 4-7; 68% rate in positive half
	16	is angry with siblings				x	63% rate negatively
With- drawal	5	prefers imaginary world to real world		x			88% rate 7-3-9
	15	prefers fantasizing to playing games		x			100% rate 7-3-9

* Points range from 0 (absolute identity with stereotype) to 9 (greatest dissimilarity from stereotype).

marks less favourably than in Grade VI.

The incompatibility between the level of ratings on the "school success" items and on innate ability is understandable if the arguments about "streaming" and subjective markings outlined on p. 372, are accepted. The disparity could also be due to the stress placed by teachers, parents, and employers, on the importance of end-of-school examinations and the fact that relatively few children - only the "brightest" - get results of a high order even though most children may have been getting satisfactory marks in their particular class. So that in spite of the good, or at least, adequate marks the boys say they get, 65 per cent of them give pre-eminence to a wish to be brighter than they are now, and intellectual superiority is the quality most frequently chosen as being the one most approved by parents.

2. Social Adequacy

(a) As in the previous year the boys are social creatures enjoying active pursuits and having their interest concentrated on the real and immediate environment. There is denial by all except 2 that the make-believe world and its people proves more satisfying than reality. Seventy-seven per cent are not keen readers: only 3 say

they really enjoy reading and do a lot of it, and only one boy prefers solitary reading to playing. They all like to play games with other children and 20 of them like it a great deal, but less than half (42 per cent) claim to enjoy rough games much, and 5 say they actually dislike them. In non-organized activities they prefer (92 per cent) to be in small groups.

(b) Peer relationships: They do not see themselves as leaders - 81 per cent rate themselves negatively on this scale - and this may be due in part to the fact that new groups and their membership roles in those groups have had to be established in their new school. One would expect, however, that at this stage, some three months after the beginning of the school year, leaders would have emerged. If this is so, then only 5 of the group (19 per cent) are sufficiently entrenched as leaders to rate themselves as being like, though not completely identified with, the stereotype of the widely-accepted leader. Since about half rate themselves as having some popularity, it would seem that peer-groups are forming; but as the distribution of ratings is skewed towards the negative pole it is obvious that this popularity is not extensive. It is

probable that the peer-groups are still in a state of flux or exist as rather disparate units with few boys feeling accepted by all of the groups and no one feeling powerful enough to manipulate the members of all or most of them. There is a significant and consistent inclination for the boys to rate themselves lower on leadership than on popularity ($p < .02$).

There is no difference then between Grade VI and E class in attitude to being liked. With one exception they all want to be liked, and half of them want it quite intensely and say either that they can't stand it if they are not (4) or that they try very hard to gain approval (10). The one exception who claims "he doesn't care a bit" whether people like him or not, nevertheless wishes as his first choice that he could get along better with his parents, and as his second, that the boys and girls should like him better. So in fact he is no exception and every member of the group values being liked. They all have some friends, and 5 have many, but those that have only one or 2 friends (7), would like to have more, preferably just a few good friends. No one escapes suffering just an occasional mean trick being played on him by his fellows.

One third think they are liked by boys more than girls

and two thirds by both boys and girls, but no one claims to be outstandingly rich in, and successful beyond his fellows with "girl-friends."

A movement away from affiliation restricted to the family may underlie the slightly higher preference now given to the "best-friend" as the companion on special outings, but the preference is far from significant. At most it can be said that considering first, second, and third choices, the best friend and the father rank about equal in choice, and the mother is the less-preferred companion.

Chosen companion for "special outings"	No. of choices		
	1st	2nd	3rd
Father	6	11	3
Best friend	9	3	8
Mother	4	7	5
Other	7	5	10

(c) Attitude to possessions: On the matters of pocket money and clothes, opinions differ little between subjects. Pocket money allowance is regarded as being less generous than clothing, which is unanimously termed "nice enough" or very good. Most (77 per cent) feel they have much less pocket money than others, but only 5 choose ⁱⁿ Section Two

"to have more money to spend", so apparently the relative deficiency is not too painful.

3. Family Relationships

(a) Parent-child relationships. Attitude to parental direction and authority seems, with most subjects, to be rather submissive. The majority of them (17) either like to be told what to do, or "don't mind" if they are. Most rate themselves as more often than not obedient to their mothers and only one indicates strong unwillingness to defer to parental opinion. There is, however, as in the previous year, a lack of agreement in the way they see their parents' relationships and attitudes to them. Excluding the boys who have no siblings, the group is divided fairly equally into those that are the "best-liked" by the parents (6), those not liked as well as their siblings (6), and those liked equally as well as their siblings (8), so 60 per cent of these parents are accused of some form of preferential treatment. And there is considerable weight of opinion that whatever the parental feeling, the actual treatment meted out by adults is biased, to the extent that only 3 boys say they are never treated worse than their siblings. However this parental injustice - if it really exists - is apparently accepted by the boys. None of them

feels strongly enough about it to wish "to have a different father and mother", though 4 wish they could "get along better" with their parents, and 2 of these 4 and one other would like to have more love from their parents.

(b) Sibling relationships: There is little evidence or admission of resentment of sibling success and three quarters of those with siblings are proud to have them praised even though they themselves do not feel that they are always treated as well as their siblings. As in the preceding year almost 60 per cent of those with siblings deny having much open conflict with them.

(c) The future: They are more interested in the immediate than the distant future, wanting to be grown-up (92 per cent), but not impatient for it (only 2 choose it as a wish), and seeing the present time (30 per cent) and the years until early adulthood (58 per cent) as the most desirable. Their aspiration, nominated by 24 of the 26, and their parents' as they see it (23 out of the 26), is that they shall be happy, ordinary persons with good jobs. Of the variety of characteristics presented in the Test they consider those most admired by their parents are intellectual brightness (admired by both mothers and fathers), school success (fathers more than mothers),

obedience (mothers), and physical prowess (fathers).

TABLE 50
Stereotypes Most Approved by Parents
Secondary Boys (N=24) *

Stereo- type	Detail of the item	No. of parents choosing		Total
		Mothers	Fathers	
14	intellectually bright	7	5	12
8	obedient to mother	9	1	10
4	gets good marks in school work	3	6	9
1	a big, strong, good fighter	1	4	5
3	the best footballer		5	5
10	has many girl-friends	2	1	3
12	disdains parental advice : able to make own decisions	1		1
9	popular	1		1
6	a leader		1	1
Sample			1	1
		24	24	48

* Two subjects did not complete this section.

These postulated parent-ideals show no marked difference from the Grade VI choices but the degree to which the boys see themselves measuring up to the ideals is different. A class boys indicate themselves as no better at attaining

to the father's ideal than they are at attaining to the mother's ($t = .734$, $df = 23$, $p > .05$), and by rating themselves five or more points away from the ideal stereotype almost half the subjects indicate that they fall considerably short of the parental ideals.

There is considerable correspondence between the self-rating of most subjects on the father's and mother's approved stereotypes. Only 25 per cent of the boys have 3 or more points of difference on the two.

TABLE 51

Self-ratings on Parentally-approved Stereotypes

Secondary Boys (N=24)*

Points of difference between stereotype and self rating	Number of boys showing these differences for	
	Mother's Ideal	Father's Ideal
9	1	2
8	2	1
7	1	2
6	3	2
5	3	3
4	4	3
3	1	5
2	3	3
1	4	2
0	2	0
Total	94	105
M	3.9	4.37

* Two subjects did not complete.

4. Wishes

"To be stronger," "to be brighter," and "to be better at games" are still the 3 most frequently chosen wishes, but being brighter has gained in strength and frequency of choice largely at the expense of the wish to be stronger until these 2 wishes now have virtually equal weight. There is considerable agreement between the qualities considered to be those liked by either or both of the parents and the wishes chosen by the boys. This association tends to be greater between the paternal "ideal" and the preferred wishes, where 18 of the 24 boys wish to be better in qualities they think the father most approves. Not that it can be assumed that the boys' choices are influenced by any wish to please the parents. Congruence of wishes and parental ideals may indicate identification between sons and parents, particularly fathers, so that the boys and their parents want the same thing; or it may be the result of projection of the boys' wishes on to the parents; or it may reflect conformity to the social values of the culture.

TABLE 52
Choice of Wishes
Secondary Boys (N=26)

Item Content	No. of subjects choosing			Rank of* choice	Area of self-picture concerned
	1st	2nd	3rd		
(a) to be stronger	8	5	7	1	personal adequacy : physical
(b) to be better liked by peers	1	2			social adequacy : peers
(c) to get along better with peers	2	2			family relationships : parent/ child
(d) to be intellectually brighter	9	5	3	2	personal adequacy : intellectual
(e) to play games better	3	3	4	3	personal adequacy : motor skills : social adequacy
(f) to have different parents					family relationships : parent- child
(h) to be a girl					personal adequacy : physical
(i) to be bigger		4	3	4	personal adequacy : physical appearance and adequacy
(j) to have more money	1	2	2		social adequacy : possessions
(k) to be grown up and leave home			2		social adequacy attitudes : family relationships

(Table continued on next page)

TABLE 52 (cont.)

Item Content	No. of subjects choosing			Rank of* choice	Area of self-picture concerned
	1st	2nd	3rd		
(l) to have more friends		1	4		social adequacy : peers
(m) to be better looking		1	1		personal adequacy : appearance
(n) to have more love from parents	2	1			family relationships : parent/child
	26	26	26		

* Points per rank of choice given arbitrarily as :
 1st choice = 3 points
 2nd choice = 2 points
 3rd choice = 1 point

A Statistical Summary of features of the self-picture of secondary boys as shown by responses and ratings given on Rogers' Test of Personality Adjustment:-

Statements which the majority (16 or more, i.e. 60 per cent or more) claim as being true for them. (In Section Four a statement is accepted as true for any rating not more than two points distant from the stereotype.)

I.	<u>In Relation to Personal Adequacy:</u>	§
	Can play ball games pretty well	92
	Strong	69
	As good-looking as most boys and girls	96
	Would like to be grown-up	92
	Wants to be a happy, ordinary adult with a good job	92
II.	<u>In Relation to Social Adequacy</u>	
	Enjoys very much playing with other girls and boys	77
	Prefers playing games with just one or two others	92
	Sometimes suffers mean tricks from other children	96
	Sometimes (or often) not so well treated as siblings by other people	86
	Popular with both girls and boys	65
	Likes to be liked by other people	96

Has nice (or very good) clothes for school 100

Has one or two or a few good friends
rather than many friends 81

III. In Relation to Family

Parents want him to be an ordinary, happy
adult with a good job 88

Proud when siblings commended 70

Statements which the majority reject: (Rejection

is considered to have been made if rating is 7, 8, or 9
points distant from identification with the stereotype.)

I. In Relation to Personal Adequacy

Enjoys reading, has read many books 62

Lacks knowledge of how to play football,
basketball, baseball 81

"Dumb" in school work 88

II. In Relation to Social Adequacy

is a leader 65

Has many girl friends 73

Finds make-believe world nicer than real
world 88

Prefers solitary imaginings to game-playing 100

III. In Relation to Family

Does not want to mind (accept advice from)
parents : feels old enough to make own
decisions 69

Statements and Factors about which group is divided
in opinion but some clustering occurs.

I. <u>In Relation to Personal Adequacy</u>	5
Best footballer in the school(denied)	33
II. <u>In Relation to Social Adequacy</u>	
Enjoys rough games very much	42
Enjoys rough games a little	38
Enjoys rough games not at all	8
Has more spending money than other boys (denied)	58
Popular with boys but not with girls	60
Popular with both boys and girls	40
Tries hard to gain people's liking	50
Doesn't try hard but glad to have people's liking	46
III. <u>In Relation to Family</u>	50
Is the child best liked by parents	30
Not liked as well by parents as other siblings	30
Liked by parents equally well as but not better than other siblings	40
Likes to be told how to do things	38
Does not mind being told how to do things	27
Prefers to do things his own way	35
Frequently cross with siblings (denied)	57

Statements and factors about which opinions are very diverse.

Being big and strong and able to beat others in a fight.

Degree of skill in football in relation to best footballer in the school.

Attainment of good marks in school work.

Degree of intellectual brightness

Popularity

Amount of spending money in comparison with other boys

Frequency of obedience to mother

Frequency of crossness with siblings

Descriptive Summary

1. There is an impression that the C class boys are less sure than the Grade VI boys of their physical status. They seem to feel that they are strong and skillful enough in themselves but inferior in comparison with the total field comprising many older and bigger boys. They enjoy organized games, know how to play the usual sports and can even play them "pretty well" but feel they do not excel in competition.

2. They tend to "write themselves down" on innate ability though they assess their actual classroom achievement as being rather higher than suggested by their ratings

of their brightness. Two-thirds express a wish for greater intellectual ability, and this is the second-ranking wish for the whole group.

3. Socially they are outgoing and active. Most feel that they have gained some acceptance in the new school but only to a moderate degree, and they see their establishment as leaders as even slighter.

4. In relationships with their parents most regard themselves as falling between fairly to very obedient and submissive to parental direction. Over half of those with siblings think their parents show favouritism among the children.

5. Their attitude to their siblings is sympathetic.

CHAPTER XI

Rogers' Test of Personality Adjustment (cont.) :

The Hypothesis Discussed

General note

Self-picture in relation to educational level

Self-picture in relation to sex

**"Shift" in the self-picture; a sub-study based on
section Four of the test**

Comparison of findings with those of other studies

CHAPTER XI

General Note

Rogers' Test of Personality Adjustment touches on the child's full social environment but nowhere in great detail. This applies to the aspect of the child's adjustment to school. In spite of the fact that the stereotypes of Section Four of the Test are located in the class or the school ("the brightest in the school" etc.), the questions actually ask relatively little about the child's attitudes to school but more about his friendships, his physical self, his longings, his feelings of status. The Check List, directly, and the MPST, indirectly, give him much more opportunity to reflect or depict himself in relation to school. So the question: "How does experience of school affect feelings about school and self?", cannot be answered either fully or directly from the subject's responses to the Rogers', though the influence of the school may be inferred from certain differences in responses made before and after transition from primary to secondary school.

Differences in the Self-picture of Girls and Boys
at the two Educational Levels, Grade VI and E Class,
as expressed on Rogers' Test of Personality Adjust-
ment

Girls

Differences in the self-picture presented by primary and secondary school girls in their responses to Rogers' Test are neither many nor dramatic, and few are statistically significant. But there are trends and complexes of items showing reinforcing shifts which are worthy of notice.

In comparing the patterns of responses of Grade VI and E class girls to Section Four, the most striking feature, at first inspection, is the consistent tendency of responses of the E class girls to be consolidated and located closer, even if not greatly closer to one pole, usually the negative one of the range, and hence away from identification with the stereotype. (Appendix V, Tables 129.)

Although the only significant differences ($p \leq .05$) in numbers of positive rankings are for items 1, 14, and 16

1. Using Kolmogorov-Smirnov and Chi-square tests.

referring respectively to prettiness, preference for fantasy to reality, and amount of spending money, all these items showing differences in numbers show the shift to be in the same direction. Similarly the mean distance of ratings from the positive pole is greater, even if not at a statistically significant level, for almost all items, since the general shift in rankings is not from both poles towards the centre in a compensatory fashion, but consistently towards the negative pole. That is, the tendency is for the girls early in their secondary school career to rate themselves as less like the stereotypes presented than the girls at the end of the primary school do. This implies, with the exception of items 8 and 11, a lower estimate of self-competence and esteem. The shift in items 8 and 11 suggests a greater awareness and acceptance of the female role. (Appendix V, Table 129.)

Some statistical difference ($p \leq .05$) in distributions for items in Section Five reinforce the implications of Section Four, and are now mentioned.

In comparison with the Grade VI responses, just as fewer girls in B class say they are less frequently cross with their siblings, so significantly more say they are proud to

have their siblings commended. Fewer play with gangs of boys and significantly more "don't like rough games." They tend to be less sure of their popularity and more say they try hard to make people like them and fewer that they "don't care" if people do not like them. Although significantly fewer than in Grade VI claim to have "many" friends, more also allege that they want only a few good friends and that they do indeed have these and enjoy activities with just a couple of friends in preference to solitary activities or to those requiring a crowd - just as in Section Four the shift was away from preference for solitary and imaginative activities.

These trends may be due to a number of factors, such as the larger environment and wider field of competition in which the E class subjects are, a more mature outlook and judgment, increased social awareness, insecurity provoked by change in routines and experience. Whatever the cause, with one exception (prettiness), the most significant differences centre round social situations and personal relationships - siblings, friendship groups, activities, pocket money - and it could well be argued that the value of prettiness is a social one.

Girls just entering secondary school appear to be more moderate or cautious in their claim than girls in the last

year of primary school. Where several discrete choices are offered, they tend to select more frequently the less extreme alternatives, and their claims in relation to personal adequacy tend to be less extravagant. In one aspect, however, their self-estimate could be said to have risen, in that on the traits they believe to be most admired by their parents they come closer than previously to the ideal.

Boys (Appendix V, Table 130)

The same general picture as for the girls is presented in a comparison of the responses of the Grade VI and secondary school boys to both rated and multi-choice items, namely a consistent shift towards the negative pole with a tendency to intensification of numbers at the negative pole in Section Four, and a consolidation or limiting of the range of responses to both rated and multi-choice items. Few differences are statistically significant.

The items in which the statistically significant differences for the boys occur are primarily associated with personal adequacy and only secondarily with social relationships and social adequacy.

As with the girls, the effect is that at secondary

school level, the boys are more down-to-earth and restrained in their estimates and concepts of themselves: but they show less change and less maturity than the girls in social attitudes.

The items showing significant differences in the area of personal adequacy relate to physical adequacy, intellectual superiority and enjoyment of reading.

In B class they rate themselves more conservatively on physical strength, and more frequently (in fact with only 2 exceptions) as just like their fellows in appearance. They say they are more knowledgeable about football but less outstanding in excellence of performance.

In Grade VI nearly 50 per cent judged themselves the best or just about the best football players in the school. In B class only 15 per cent claim this honour, but almost the whole group claims fair sporting skill compared with only 60 per cent in Grade VI. Perhaps this is because of the consistent attention to sport for everyone as an integral part of the secondary school curriculum. The more moderate claim for performance in sport is consistent with the fact that in the primary school competitive sport is limited to a relatively small number of boys who tend to come from the two

oldest grades and to be the "top dogs" in size, strength, and speed. In the secondary school the E class boys are at the bottom rung of the ladder in competition with boys approaching mature stature and more powerful and experienced in sport than they are.

In the secondary school group there are significantly fewer avid readers - or at least fewer avid readers of cowboy fiction and the like - and fewer who are optimistic about their intellectual superiority. Significantly more in the secondary year (90 per cent) have settled for the goal of "a happy, ordinary adult with a good job" in comparison with 64 per cent in Grade VI.

Like the girls in E class more prefer to be involved in leisure activities with just a couple of people than to be either alone or in a big loosely-imit group, and there is a trend (not statistically significant) for more boys to say they want their friendship group also to be small and intimate rather than large and less intimate. Their perception or their tolerance of teasing also is different: fewer boys regard themselves as either victimised or entirely free from mean tricks played by their peers.

Unlike the girls the secondary boys seem to find

themselves less close to their parents' ideals and more wishful to measure up to them than they were in Grade VI.

Comparison of Sexes

Grade VI Subjects

Grade VI girls and boys have much in common in their self-pictures, but there are suggestions that their orientation - and hence their attitudes and goals - differ. The immediate impression is that the girls are consistently more critical of themselves and more moderate in their self-estimate than the boys; that is, they rate themselves less like the highly desirable and more like the undesirable stereotypes (Tables 53, 54). Their assessments appear to be more in line with what would be expected in reality: a few ratings are outstanding, the rest are middle-of-the-road. This could be the result of rather more maturity on the part of the girls, or a greater readiness to conform and accept what is generally regarded as true.

The goals (or wishes) of the girls are more diverse than those of the boys (see tables 40, 44).

TABLE 53

Comparison of Distributions and Means for Males and Females (Grade VI)

Comparable Items of Section Four (Girls N=29; Boys N=26)

Sex	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B			
Item No.	1	1	2	3	3	4	4	2	6	8	9	6	10	9	12	12	13	14	14	5	15	16	16	13	17	10	18	15	
Points distant from stereotype	9	9	3	4	1	3	2	2	3	1	3	8	12	4	7	19	13	7	4	13	17	8	13	15	12	19	13	20	23
	8	3	-	3	2	2	-	2	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	2	2	1	-	5	2	2	1	2	-	2	2	4	2
	7	5	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	1	1	2	1	-	2	2	1	1	3	1	2	2	1	1	-	2	1
	6	1	1	-	1	3	1	1	2	2	-	1	1	2	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	2	-	1	2	-	1	-	
	5	2	3	5	1	6	-	3	2	1	2	4	5	3	3	4	1	6	2	2	-	1	-	4	3	-	1	1	-
	4	6	4	8	6	3	6	1	2	6	5	8	3	8	3	-	2	5	3	-	3	3	1	3	5	2	2	-	-
	3	3	1	4	2	3	5	4	1	5	1	2	1	1	3	1	1	-	4	2	1	-	-	-	1	1	2	-	-
	2	-	3	3	5	3	4	1	1	5	1	-	-	3	3	1	1	3	3	1	-	3	2	3	1	-	-	-	-
	1	-	6	2	3	2	3	1	4	3	4	2	2	3	3	-	-	3	6	1	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
	0	-	3	-	4	4	4	13	8	6	8	2	1	2	2	1	3	2	3	3	-	7	-	-	2	1	6	1	-
Mean	6.5	3.3	4.7	3.0	4.1	2.8	2.8	3.4	2.7	3.1	5.2	6.0	4.4	4.7	7.5	6.4	5.2	3.4	6.5	7.9	4.5	7.6	7.0	6.2	7.5	5.8	8.2	8.8	

* Includes only subjects with siblings

TABLE 54

Comparison of Distributions and Means for Males and Females (E Class)

Comparable Items of Section Four (Girls N=29; Boys N=26)

		No. of Subjects																											
Sex	Item No.	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B
		1	1	2	3	3	4	4	2	6	8	9	6	10	9	12	12	13	14	14	5*	15*	16	16	13	17	10	18	15
Points distant from stereotype	9	12	6	4	3	1	-	2	10	1	-	8	11	1	4	14	16	8	2	18	19	9	6	17	10	13	15	22	23
	8	5	-	1	6	-	-	4	2	1	1	1	3	2	-	2	-	2	3	4	2	3	4	3	3	7	2	3	1
	7	1	1	3	1	4	1	2	4	-	1	5	3	4	3	5	2	2	2	3	2	3	2	5	2	4	2	3	2
	6	7	3	5	4	5	6	-	2	-	2	3	-	3	9	5	2	3	3	1	-	3	-	2	3	2	1	1	-
	5	3	6	2	3	4	3	2	2	2	2	1	4	7	1	1	3	7	5	1	1	-	1	1	2	1	-	-	-
	4	-	2	2	-	4	4	1	2	5	7	7	-	10	3	1	2	3	4	1	1	2	1	-	3	1	-	-	-
	3	1	-	4	5	6	2	3	1	3	2	3	3	1	2	1	-	2	3	1	-	3	3	-	1	-	2	-	-
	2	-	2	3	1	-	3	4	-	9	5	1	2	-	3	-	-	1	3	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-
	1	-	3	1	2	5	6	2	1	1	5	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-
	0	-	3	4	1	-	1	9	2	7	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	3	-	1	-	-	-
Mean		7.4	4.8	4.6	5.4	4.3	3.5	3.3	6.5	2.6	3.3	6.1	6.8	5.2	5.4	7.6	7.4	6.1	5.0	8.0	8.4	5.8	5.7	8.0	6.7	7.7	7.0	8.6	8.8

* Fewer subjects involved

In the area of physical attributes and motor skills, the relative moderation in self-ratings of the girls is apparent. In comparing the male claim to strength (item IV-1) and the female claim to beauty (item IV-1), many more girls than boys rate themselves well down the scale, and this is backed up by their unanimous moderation on item V-12 where the boys again spread over into the extravagant choice.

Both sex-groups on the whole think their motor skill is satisfactory but the boys show rather more ambivalence about it than the girls. They appear to be more concerned with being not only "good" but being also the "best." While girls accept themselves as inferior to boys in athletics, they indicate no wish to be better, but most boys while rating themselves competent at physical activities, want to be stronger and better. The wishes for greater strength and competence at games are the most outstanding wishes the boys make, almost to the exclusion of other goals. In a culture which places great value on success in sport, the boys exhibit at least an awareness or introjection of this facet of reality without, as yet, appearing to have adequate perspective of themselves in relation to it.

So both sexes appear to feel reasonable "normal" in,

and satisfied with their physical appearance - almost all of them say they are "as good looking as" or "better looking than" other boys and girls - but both express some diffidence about their motor skills: the boys in saying that they do not excel in competition, the girls in saying that they are inferior to the boys. However the ensuing attitudes of girls and boys differ. Boys rate themselves higher but show more concern about and aspire to greater eminence in physical adequacy; girls rate themselves lower, are relatively unconcerned about it, and few hanker to change it.

When it comes to intellectual skill and attainment, the girls again rate themselves more moderately than the boys (the girls' means are 5.2 and 4.1 compared with the boys' means 3.4 and 2.8 on the scales for intelligence and school marks (see Table 53). This is the area in which the girls show their greatest self-dissatisfaction - intellectual enhancement is their leading wish. The boys are comparatively uninterested in being better academically. The majority of the girls' ratings spread from the centre to the negative half of the scale for brightness (item IV-13), the boys from the centre to the positive pole (item IV-14), so there are 17 out of 29 girls' ratings in the negative half of the scale, but only 7 out of 26 boys' ($p .05$). A similar

distribution occurs in the self-ratings for marks on school work where half the girls' ratings (14) are in the negative half of the scale (item IV-3), but only one eighth (3) of the boys' (item IV-4). Both boys and girls are comparable in their wide diversity of attitudes to reading.

In social activities both sexes are engrossed in the real world and find relatively little attraction in the world of fantasy. However, the majority of them prefer the close friendship of a few good friends and like to spend their non-sports leisure time in small groups. Almost every one of them (the exceptions are 4 boys) wants to be liked by people in general, but only half of each sex-group thinks he or she is accepted by both boys and girls, the rest think that their acceptance is limited to their own sex. Both sexes want to be physically active and enjoy pursuits which are physically quite demanding. Far more boys than girls enjoy rough games.

In view of the fact that girls mature physically earlier than boys and the generally accepted theory is that their interest in and desire for acceptance by the opposite sex also appears earlier, sex differences in the social-relationships area of the self-picture might be expected. However the similarity of responses of the two sexes is rather counter to

normal theory and more in keeping with the findings of Kuhlen (1952 a) on American children, namely that American culture induces earlier social maturation in boys than girls, and of Harwood (1956) on Queensland children, that "there is no major distinction between sexes in extent of social maturation, and differences of degree of social independence appear to be related to sub-cultural groupings and to be "in some measure independent of chronological age."

The assessment of, and reactions to family relationships are very similar for both groups. The majority of boys and girls consider themselves fairly - even very - obedient to their mothers and responsive to parental advice, but there is a tendency for more boys than girls to resent being told how to do things. Significantly more boys than girls say their parents show favouritism; the majority of the girls say the parents share their affections equally among the siblings. Both boys and girls fall equally short of what they think to be the mother's ideal child but whereas girls also rate themselves well below what they believe to be the father's ideal, the boys rate themselves much closer to the paternal ideal.

Fewer boys than girls feel, or admit to feeling, sibling conflict. Almost half the girls (13 of the 27 who have

siblings) say that no matter how hard they try, they are fairly often cross with their siblings. Only 7 boys say this.

B Class Children

The sex differences and similarities found between the secondary boys and girls are similar to those found in the comparison of the primary school groups, with a few exceptions and modifications (Table 54). The lower self-estimates, as compared with the Grade VI self-estimates, occur most obviously in different aspects of personal adequacy for girls and boys. The girls are less assured about the attractiveness of their appearance - their prettiness; the boys about their power and motor skill - their abilities as strong fighters and footballers. The patterns of the two sexes converge in certain of their attitudes to games and social groupings. Significantly fewer of both the boys and girls than in Grade VI enjoy rough games. The girls, however, show stronger aversion to them than do the boys, more of them expressing total dislike, whereas the boys' liking is reduced from "a lot" to "just a little." Both sexes show a greater and, in fact, almost a unanimous preference for small groups for free play - 26 girls and 24 boys compared with 18 girls and 17 boys in the Grade VI groups.

The first two of these similarities in the reactions of the two sex groups, that is the generally lower self-estimates and the attitude to rough games, can readily be seen as an effect of transition to the secondary school. The group in which the child must now assess himself is larger and more comprehensive and therefore contains more children equal to or better than himself in both physical and intellectual skills. So if the child is at all aware of reality, he (or she) must be finding his capacity to keep up with his fellows much more threatened than previously.

The same strengthening of competition could affect the attitude of boys to rough games; they are likely to be less successful, to receive more damage in rough play than formerly, and so tend to have reduced liking for them. For the girls it can be argued that with transition to the secondary school has come a much greater emphasis on the feminine role. The school curriculum is now different for boys and girls with the girls being introduced to home arts and crafts and with quite a deal of emphasis being placed on feminine deportment within and outside the school. So in the case of the girls it can be argued that one would expect a reduction in liking for rough play because of social-cultural influences and possibly also because of physical maturation.

The E class boys' attitude to siblings remains unchanged, but the girls show a greater acceptance of or identification with their siblings; 26 girls, compared with 17 formerly, say they are proud when their siblings are commended. The boys' attitude to wanting to be liked by people in general also remains unchanged, but more girls try hard to win favour (14 in Grade VI year, compared with 21 in the E class group). In measuring up to the parent ideal the girls rate themselves as coming closer, the boys as being further away. Fewer girls than in Grade VI claim to have relatively large sums of spending money, and fewer girls prefer make-believe to reality. More boys than in Grade VI claim comprehensive knowledge of games and fewer boys claim to be avid readers. Both sexes show, in different ways, a conforming to reality; the girls appear to be more confirmed in acceptance of their sex role, more boys than formerly (24 compared with 18) look for an ordinary rather than an exotic future.

"Shift" in the Self-picture
(A Sub-study of Section Four)

Girls

As stated previously, within the total groups studied are children who did the same tests in both Grade VI and 7 class. The analysis of responses in the previous chapter has produced a general self-picture for the two total groups some 15 months apart in educational placement. By looking at the responses of only those subjects who repeated the tests ($N=20$) it is possible to get some indication of the amount and direction and consistency of individual changes (if any) occurring within what might otherwise appear, in the general picture, to be a simple restatement of the same attitudes by the same children. In the Rogers' Test, Section Four (in which the subjects rank themselves in relation to certain statements on a 10 point scale) permits numerical comparisons of scores given at the two times of testing. It is proposed to look at this section to see what, if any, changes in individual patterns occur.

The techniques employed are, first of all, the Index of Shift (see Chapter 7, pp. 185-6). With this technique

the total possible movement of ranks made by each child is summed and converted to a decimal. For example, if a response is located at one pole of the 10-point scale it could move the full range of 9 points: it may, in fact, not move at all in which case there is a zero shift. The less the movement, the closer the Index is to 0. That is, if there were no movement of ranks at all there would be a 1 : 1 correlation of scores for the first and second testings.

The second technique used is the Sign Test to show whether a statistically significant majority of those subjects who do change their scores change them in a specific direction.

The third technique is similar to one used by Staines (1954) by which the "certainty" or "anchorage" of initial responses is considered. A two-way view-point is possible here: those who are certain of their likeness to the stereotype (0, 1, or 2 points of difference from the stereotype) or of their unlikeness to the stereotype (points 7, 8, or 9 points of difference), and those whose scores fall on points 4 and 5 in the centre of the range where the subject obviously is rating himself as being neither like nor unlike the stereotype. This, in fact, is a similar

technique to the cluster-comparison (p. 321) - the point of interest here is simply whether the children repeating the test show any significant change in the degree of proximation to likeness of the stereotype.

Index of Shift

(See Appendix III, Table 95). The nearer the Index approaches to zero the greater the similarity between the scores on the first and second occasion of testing. Items in Section Four, for which self-ratings have remained most constant, are numbers 13, 5, and 17.

Items for which there is a relatively marked Index of Shift are 4, 15, and 9. The variability is a function of both how many children change and/or to what extent the points of scores of the total group in the retested sample change over the 15 month period. For any item the degree of change may be due to a small number of subjects making small changes (as for item 9). It is also possible for a large number of subjects to make such small shifts that the Index of Shift remains un-noteworthy: this occurs with item 3 where there are 16 changes of score but the Index of Shift is still only .214.

So a further comparison is made (using the Binomial Test) of the number of children changing their ranks in the

second testing. Items which show a significant number of subjects changing their scores - regardless of the direction in which the change is made - are 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 13, and 16.

Both these types of shift taken together suggest that there are not big individual changes within the group in the sense of large numbers of subjects completely reversing their self-evaluations, but that there is flexibility of opinion and some reassessment of the self in relation to certain factors.

Thirdly, items for which the Shift has been significant, with movement either towards the stereotype or away from it (Sign Test) are numbers 1, 14, and 16 for all of which the subjects' scores have moved towards the negative pole, that is, towards a greater degree of unlikeness to the stereotype. These are the items referring to prettiness, preference for fantasy over reality, and possession of large amounts of spending money. These findings agree completely with those for the full group (see Appendix V, Tables 125, 126.)

Finally, for changes in certainty or "anchorage" (Staines, 1954; Emmott, 1959) do a significant number of individuals change their degree of certainty about certain aspects of

their self-pictures in the second testing? The only item showing a significant difference in anchorage is item 16 (possession of spending money) for which significantly more girls in the second testing place themselves at the negative end of the scale.

From this sub-study it is apparent that in making self-assessments many of the individual subjects have made shifts and changes, often in the nature of "shufflings" - seldom "volte-faces" - and only occasionally with any significant consistency in direction among them. The results for the sub-group of subjects are in keeping with the conclusions reached in relation to the total groups where the inferences drawn have been checked by reference to other sections of the Rogers' Test which contribute supporting or modifying detail to the items and findings for Section Four.

Boys

In the groups of boys under study there is, as with the girls, a number who have repeated the tests, and are therefore able to provide a sub-group (N=19) for study of indications of individual changes in the composition of the responses from which the group self-picture is derived.

The Shift Indices (Appendix III, Table 96), are more

significant for the boys than for the girls. The items showing the most significant variability or Index of Shift are numbers 1 and 2; that is, those items in which the boy assesses his physical strength and fighting ability and his liking for reading. On these two aspects of the self the subjects who repeated the test show considerable variation in their opinions. In item 1 (strength, etc.) the larger Shift Index is produced by both the large number of subjects who change their ratings-15 out of 18 varied their assessment on this item - and the amount of possible change made. This item is also significant on the Sign Test, for the greater proportion of subjects who change their ratings move in the direction of the negative pole, that is, they rate themselves on the second occasion of testing as more inferior than previously on strength and likelihood of success in a fight. The same applies to item 2 for which a higher number of subjects again move their self-assessment towards the negative pole, indicating less enjoyment of reading, especially of certain types of literature such as cowboy stories.

Items 12, 8, 9 13 (in that order) also have fairly high Shift Indices suggesting flux in self-estimates. A significantly higher number of subjects change their ratings than do not

(Binomial Test) for these four items but the shift follows no consistent direction (Sign Test, $p .05$). On one other item however, the change does show a significant consistency of direction. This is item 3 in which the boy rates his claim to being the best footballer in the school. For this item the self-ratings move are almost unanimously towards the negative pole, indicative of increased inferiority to the school's best footballer.

The items showing the least shift are 15 and 11, referring respectively to preference for reality rather than fantasy, and to "dumbness" at school work. Both these items were rated in Grade VI well towards the negative end of the scale. There was therefore, high possibility of change in that most of the subjects could have moved themselves the full length of the scale; but in fact very few shifted themselves at all, most maintaining their original self-estimates.

One more item is important for ranking changes - item 14, (the brightest boy in the school). The number of boys making ranking changes (17 of the total 19), is significant at the level $p < .002$. In the first testing the preponderance of boys rated themselves in the positive half of the scale and some claimed actually to be the brightest boy in the school. At the second testing the tendency is for more - including

those subjects making the biggest changes in ranks - to move towards the negative pole although this is significant on the Sign Test only at the level $p = .07$.

As for the amount of certainty shown, only one item shows any significant change in the number of subjects who place themselves right at one extreme of the scale, and that is item 2, for which the number identifying themselves with the stereotype is significantly lower than in the previous year. An interesting feature that shows up in the sub-group's responses is the number of individual but often small changes of ratings that occur. Of 16 items, 12 (that is, all except items 5, 7, 11 and 16), show a "jockeying about" by a considerable number of the subjects though the ratings do not by any means move consistently in a certain direction. It is as though the boys' previous ideas of themselves have been shaken and they have been forced to make - or at least are making - a general review of themselves and are modifying their earlier claims. But as an assembled group of responses the picture presented is not much different from before. The 4 items on which the boys' ratings remain stable are all ones on which they were already at the first testing predisposed towards a certain unanimity, the majority claiming that they were not enthusiastic about living in a fantasy world, not lacking

in knowledge of the customary boys' sports, not "dumb" at school, and not too frequently "cross" with their siblings. Perhaps these ideas have received little threat from the new school situation. Indeed the only one likely to be threatened is "furbness" and at this still early stage in a secondary school, with streaming to help conceal deficiencies, there may have been little cause to review opinions about this.

Comparison of Findings with those of Other Studies

Findings will be compared under the four headings: stability of the self-picture, interpersonal relationships, personal adequacy, and social adequacy.

and Congruence Stability of the Self-picture

Angel (1959), Mandel (1953), and Goertzen (1959), have stated the following findings:

1. Adolescents tested over a period maintained a high degree of stability in their self-descriptions (Angel, 1959).
2. Thirteen-year-old girls are more inconsistent in their self-rating than ten-year-old girls (Mandel, 1953).
3. Grade VI boys and girls are similar in their ideas of acceptable relationships (Goertzen, 1959).

confirmed

This study: Findings 1 and 3 are true for the Tasmanian children: Finding 2 seems not to be ^{*confirmed*} true. Consistency has been discussed in more detail in the second and third sections of this Chapter.

Interpersonal Relationships

1. Kemp (1955) found that junior high school students thought their parents made mistaken estimates of them on self-reliance, nervousness, and personal worth.
2. Spivak (1957) found three of the chief problems stated by children entering secondary school were that teachers did not understand them, did not encourage them, did not like them.
3. Simpson (1963) found that, in Sydney adolescents, the year of breakdown in parent-child relationships occurred about the ages of 14 and 15.

This study: The Rogers' ^{test} _^ does not allow for an indication of the parents' assessment of the child's personal worth, but it does give the child an opportunity to give an opinion of the parents' treatment of him. The Tasmanian girls consider that the parents like them equally with their siblings, that is, they are regarded as being of equal worth with their brothers and sisters. The Tasmanian boys, on the contrary, are divided in opinion; a quarter of the Grade VI

boys think that their parents have rejecting attitudes and this has increased to half the boys in the secondary school year.

The primary girls' group alone considers, almost unanimously, that they are treated by adults in general in the same way as their brothers and sisters are treated. However, girls in the secondary school year and boys in both years are strongly of the opinion that they receive treatment differing from that given their brothers and sisters - 80 per cent of the Grade VI boys, 90 per cent of the B class boys, and 70 per cent of the B class girls hold this opinion.

This feeling of being rejected by parents and singled out for inferior treatment by other adults could possibly be a reflection of the breakdown suggested by Simpson as occurring in parent-child relationships about the age of 14 or 15. If so, it has begun earlier in this particular aspect with the boys than with the girls, but this would not be unexpected in view of the fact that boys usually run freer of the home than girls and therefore presumably come up against more adults and into more situations where conflict can occur and lead to them being singled out for criticism.

Personal Adequacy

1. Wilkie (1962) gave the following findings for primary

school children.

They (a) are very confident of their adequacy in sports and
games

(b) are fond of, and proficient, in reading

(c) are uncertain about academic performance

(d) differ between sexes in that boys show greater
confidence than girls about their skill at games
and sport.

He also found that for secondary school children:

(e) these differences tend to persist

(f) they have considerable doubt of their adequacy
in their school work.

2. Emmett (1959) stated the following for secondary
school children:

(a) they show little concern about physical adequacy

(b) in the area of physical adequacy the most
frequently checked aspirations are "to be good-
looking" and "to have a good appearance."

This study: For Grade VI children statement (a) holds
true, but not at all for secondary school children: statement
(b) is true or fairly true for girls but not for boys:
statement (c) is true for girls but not for boys who, while
not claiming to achieve outstanding marks, indicate little

dissatisfaction with, or inadequacy about them: (d) is true for both primary and secondary school groups: (e) is partially true - see the discussion in the second section of this chapter: (f) is true.

There is less agreement with Bennett's findings. Physical adequacy is an area in which the Tasmanian children express quite a lot of concern, particularly the boys, many of whom wish they could be more outstanding in physical prowess. Bennett's second finding is truer for girls than boys in that a higher number of them wishes to be better-looking, but neither boys nor girls seem to feel inferior about, or wish to change their appearance and all of them say that their clothes are "nice" or "very good" or "the nicest in the school."

Social Adequacy

1. Arora (1965) found in relation to a study of girls aged 10 to 13, as follows:

- (a) girls at the ages 10 to 13 years prefer friends of their own sex
- (b) thirteen-year-old girls envy boys because of the boys' greater strength
- (c) thirteen-year-old girls deny interest in boys more strongly than do 10 year-old girls though they are actually more interested.

2. Staines (1954) found social relationships to be little provocative of problems for 9 to 13-year old boys.

This study: There is no direct evidence that the Tasmanian boys and girls of this study prefer friends of their own sex but neither can there be said to be any direct denial of interest in children of the opposite sex amongst either the Grade VI or the secondary school children. The most relevant information in the Tasmanian group is that in both years only one third of the children say that they are popular with their own sex. Nor is there evidence in the Tasmanian study of agreement with Arora's second finding. The majority of the Grade VI girls and almost all the E class girls deny any serious wish to be a boy because boys are stronger (item IV-11). Similarly, in relation to Staines' finding there seems to be some modification necessary for the Tasmanian group. Almost every boy, primary or secondary, in this study likes to be liked and half of the boys of each group say they try hard to make people like them. So that although they may not be worried about it they do seem to set considerable store by social acceptance. Again, in response to the item on the number of girl-friends a boy has, though most say they do not have an outstanding number of girl friends, many of them say they would like to have more.

CHAPTER XII

Michigan Picture Story Test, Analysis Part I

Personal adequacy

Social and family relationships

CHAPTER XII

Self Picture According to MPST

Analysis : Part I

In so far as the theory of projection is acceptable, the Michigan Picture Stories, like the self-ratings on Rogers' Test of Personality, permit some evaluation of the self to be derived in relation to personal adequacy, social adequacy - especially in peer and school relationships - and the family. The operative word here is "derived." The subject is not, as in Rogers' Test and the Check List, consciously stating truths or claims about himself. These have to be deduced from the way in which he depicts or interprets the behaviour of others. The picture so derived may differ greatly from the self-picture which the child consciously sets up.

The role and estimate of the self in each of the areas mentioned above can be derived not only from the major themes (conflict, adequacy, etc.) but also from the incidental references which occur in the stories even where the stories have quite different major themes. For example it is possible that a basic theme of a child in conflict with, say, parental

authority, may be qualified by persistent though minor references in other stories to affection and acceptance by the parent.

The approach is, therefore, to look first at themes and then at other appropriate incidental references.

In this analysis each category of themes is taken and followed through with each group before moving on to the next category.

I. Personal Adequacy

(A) Primary School Boys - Grade VI Composition of the Group

School A N = 11

School B N = 15

Total N = 26

(See Appendix IV Tables 99, 101)

Sixty-eight of the total 316 themes (22 per cent) given by all the subjects deal with adequacy.¹ All except 12 of the 68 centre on the adequacy of a focal male-child figure which is, however, not necessarily comparable with the subject in age (for example, the young boy in Card I). In 40 of these 56 male-child-hero themes (71 per cent of that category) the hero is put in a situation which points up his inadequacy. And though on 12 occasions he finally achieves,

1. It should be remembered that for brevity the term adequacy when used generally covers both adequacy and inadequacy.

with assistance, some sort of adequacy, such as getting safely home after being lost, this adequacy occurs only on Cards I and XI where an actual physical contact between the hero and an adult figure is depicted.

Though the differences between schools will be treated later, it should be noted that the School B boys contribute only one theme of initial competence compared with 15 given by the smaller group of School A boys. Only 2 boys give no themes of personal adequacy.

The personal qualities with which the themes of adequacy deal include bodily skills, intellectual capacity and achievement, and reaction to physical or material threat and danger, but the incidental references extend to include adequacy in employment, sport and games, and emotional crises.

(a) Physical competence, physical appearance, motor skills: Almost half (12) of the subjects produce themes of physical weakness (5 themes), lack of physical skill (1), physical injury (1), and physical helplessness in the face of danger (10), in which the hero does not attempt or is not able to improve the situation through his own power and skill. These heroes are variously incapacitated and/or inferior. For example, the Card I hero "has broken arm and can't do things

himself," "can't be well and his mother has to feed him" : the Card VIII hero is "terrified" (no reason given), "is in great pain ... and couldn't get any sleep", "is sick with a boil or from an extracted tooth": other heroes are frightened by snakes that chase them away, "trapped under water," "tired and lagging behind," "sick and prevented from joining games," and so on. Ten boys - 9 of them in response to Card XI - give stories of a hero lost and frightened, and should he be restored to safety it is only through outside assistance. Snakes are overpoweringly threatening to 5 heroes.

The balance on the other side of the ledger - the adequacy side - is relatively slight: there is little evidence of positive self-regard in the area of physical skill. Six boys, one with no themes of inadequacy, produce 7 themes where heroes at first glance seem adequate, but only 4 of these heroes have any real claim to strength and competence, and on closer examination 2 of these turn out to be classic examples of weakness falsely parading as strength. One of the 2 genuinely strong heroes becomes self-supporting when lost in a primitive foreign country, and the other swims through terrific storms and floods to safety. One falsely-

adequate hero is conspicuously vigorous and aggressive but basically is a bully, weak, and very anti-social; he is - "a very tough boy ... who was very good at fighting and beat up a man who was very weak at fighting" and who in spite of police punishment remained ready "when they picked on him ... to give them a good black eye." The same boy produces the second pseudo-strong hero who though initially physically vigorous and antagonistic to and defiant of police, changes suddenly and begins to "cry and cry" and eventually has to be rescued, whereupon he suffers a change of heart and decides "when I grow up I'm going to be a policeman". The 3 other nominally "strong" heroes are in fact rather weak, such as one who is adequate fortuitously rather than by intention and so happens to reach his goal, and another who "isn't very good at his job" but succeeds through moral rather than physical stamina.

The incidental references to competence and skill tend to improve the image of the hero's adequacy. Sixteen of the 19 boys who create themes of physical inadequacy elsewhere endow other of their heroes with at least one piece of evidence of physical strength or skill, such as skill in sport or in such games as chess (11), in hunting, swimming and fishing (4), in helping in pursuits and rescues (4), in dealing effectively with snakes (2).

Incidental references to inadequacy are fewer - only about half the number of those made to adequacy - and refer to inadequacy in such areas as sports and games (3), in protecting oneself from injury (8), susceptibility to fatigue and attack (2).

Whether it is adequacy or lack of it that is projected, and the strength of the adequacy or its lack, seem to bear some relationship to two things: (a) the school from which the subject comes, and (b) whether adequacy/inadequacy is the main idea about which the story is built.

The school B students seem driven by doubts or fears about adequacy; they give a pronounced majority of themes stressing inadequacy. However, there is more balance between inadequacy and adequacy in their incidental references. The school A students have almost equal numbers of adequacy and inadequacy themes, but adequacy predominates strongly in their incidental references. With students of both schools, then, presentation of adequacy, as opposed to inadequacy, appears to come more easily when it is not the focal issue of the story. Is this due to some drive to comply with social pressure? Does the boy, when he is directly concerned with the idea of his, or his hero's strength, tend to present a stereotype in keeping with what he feels to be

society's estimate of the adult-and-child (or authority-and-child) relationship - the adult superior, powerful and capable; the child inferior, inadequate, unsure? When, on the contrary, adequacy is not the focal idea, does his real and basic self-estimate more readily escape into expression in increased frequency of these expressions of competence, success and skill, indicating a basic disagreement with society's casting of his role?

That this is what is happening would seem to fit in with the results of the Rogers' Test where the boys rank themselves on the whole as physically adequate, but where nevertheless they wish with considerable solidarity of opinion to be even stronger and more skilful. "To be stronger" was the most-checked first wish. Presumably, following the lines of this present argument, this choice would be high because, when wishing, they are consciously thinking in terms of adequacy and their place not only amongst peers but in the wider environment of adults and authority-figures - that is, in the society which they feel brands them as relatively inadequate and in which 40 per cent of fathers were thought by these boys to reserve their highest approbation for physically-adequate sons.

(b) Intellectual ability and achievement: Worry about intellectual sufficiency does not appear as a frequent theme. Stories set in a school situation usually concentrate on personal relationships and not on intellectual endowment or school accomplishment. Nevertheless, these get some revealing incidental references and often provide the *raison-d'être* for the major theme of the story.

There are only 6 themes dealing with intellectual capacity. Three boys each give one story centring on lack of skill in a specific school subject - composition, reading, arithmetic. Two produce stories of success in school examinations, and one a story of ultimate achievement of skill in arithmetic. There are 14 incidental references evenly divided between adequacy and inadequacy. They range from comments on general school attainment to references to particular subjects. Five refer to general inaptitude: for example, "his work [was] not too good at school," "his report card was very poor," "he just can't get his homework right," "he gave the wrong answers," "he didn't know [the work] and got into trouble." Two refer to general ability: "he became smart and clever at school," "the boy looked brainy." Four refer to possession of skill in composition (which appears to feature more than any other single subject in the stories), one to success in music and one to failure

in arithmetic. The remaining reference occurs in a nice avoidance situation in which the hero oversleeps twice so failing to attend his lessons which results in a lack of knowledge whose further outcome he again successfully avoids by postponing his learning to a future homework time.

Lack of marked concern with intelligence and academic success, as deduced from the relative infrequency of its projection on the MPST, is compatible with the lack of evidence of dissatisfaction with intellectual endowment shown on the Rogers' Test and the Check List. Though the boys mark a high percentage of their worries in the School Area of the Check List, these worries are not all concerned with academic success.

Though IIT is one of the two top areas for problems on the Check List, only 4 boys, all from School A, express in their MPST responses any spontaneous interest in the more remote future of getting a job and earning money and of how they see themselves coping with it. Their projections are "larger than life" and have a dramatic quality as though by exaggerating, like whistling loudly in the dark, they can reassure themselves that they will manage. The 4 stories are devoted to working through from conscious inadequacy in the job to ultimate skill and recognition by society - one hero gets a special award, another more than the customary

wage, the third becomes a world-renowned inventor, the fourth gets special individual attention from the boss.

(B) Secondary School Boys - E Class Composition of the group

All subjects did	{	ex-School A	N = 6
the MPST in Grade VI	{	ex-School B	N = 11
	{	Total	N = 17

(See Appendix IV Tables 102 and 99)

In the 45 themes (21 per cent of the total 211) which deal with personal adequacy, it is again the weakness or ineffectiveness of the hero which is more frequently presented. Forty of these 45 themes are based on male-child heroes. These 40 are discussed first. Ten of the 40 heroes (25 per cent) are adequate, the remaining 30 (75 per cent) inadequate, and only one third of these latter ever attain, even with the support of an adult, any small degree of adequacy. Of this one-third, nearly all are "lost-boy" heroes who are helped to safety by parents or police. Incidental references to personal competence throughout all the stories are most frequently to inadequacy.

Personal adequacy/inadequacy themes are associated with a variety of circumstances, school achievement and being lost being the only 2 that recur with any frequency.

(a) Physical competence, physical appearance, motor skill: Physical skill, health, injury and similar physical conditions

are relatively infrequently touched on, and the prediction of final success or failure in games (as on Card VI) or in a fight, is only occasionally suggested. Only 9 boys give themes of this kind - 5 of adequacy, 5 of inadequacy. The opposing projections are not, with one exception, expressed by the same students - for 4 boys giving only adequacy themes there are 4 others giving only inadequacy themes.

Inability to cope with being lost is a fairly common projection. Not one of the 6 lost heroes succeeds by his own actions in rescuing himself. All these heroes behave in a negative way, usually being passive and tearful and waiting for help to arrive. Is this projection of a simple stereotype situation or projection of a "lostness" these boys are feeling on entering a new school and a new phase of physical development? Probably it is both. The "lost" theme is confined, with one exception, to Card XI. However Card XI evokes also a number of stories associated with broadly social problems (such as stealing or truanting) and with co-operation with community services. The 5 physically adequate heroes are characterized by effort and initiative. Circumstances and other people are invariably against them and success has to be struggled for. For

example, one hero fishes all day in a stream where there are no fish "but at least he caught one eel"; another is seen as beating his opponent, but only because "he is concentrating very hard"; a third ably gives first aid to his wounded companion but is refused transport by passing motorists until it is almost too late to save his companion's life.

These projections of inadequacy, or of an adequacy which is attained only with much effort, or with the assistance of adults, or even in spite of the opposition of adults, suggest that these boys are not finding the job of establishing themselves as physically competent an easy task. Unlike the productions in the preceding year, there are exceedingly few "sidelong" glances at (that is, incidental references to) physical adequacy (3 to adequacy and 4 to inadequacy) to modify this impression that competence is difficult to attain. They appear to be projecting selves which are not only inadequate but which also lack self confidence. That is, there is less disagreement between the qualities of the adequacy-theme heroes (who may be suspected of behaving in conformity with adult expectation and are therefore shown as inferior) and the heroes of other themes (who may more truly reflect the subject's conception of his competence). Only

relatively few of the heroes of the adequacy theme and no higher percentage of the heroes of other themes, show outstanding competence (see p. 542). Inadequacy is sufficiently prevalent that the boys seem almost to be "bugged" by it. Maladjustment exists, says Rogers (1931, p. 1), only when there is "a felt contrast between the real situation and the desired one." Indications are that these boys feel maladjusted or inept in dealing with real-life situations which, unlike games, have no obviously stated rules of procedure. This could well be related to

(i) approach and/or onset of puberty with consequent disturbance and revision of ideas about the self,

(ii) the change to a new school where importance, confidence and "superiority" are challenged (even by the presence alone) of older and more mature and more experienced pupils,

(iii) a lack of satisfying experiences to prove their worth to themselves; for example, insufficient independence or responsibility to answer to their increasing maturity, or, even if greater freedom is given, a lack of self-enhancing experiences,

(iv) abandonment of physical competence as an area of adequacy from which to challenge adult society.

A similar impression of lowered self-esteem in relation

to physical power and skill occurs in Rogers' Test where self-assessments in this area are lower in E class than Grade VI and the desire for sheer physical strength remains the most frequently expressed wish.

There seems, too, to be a shift away from concern with purely physical adequacy and towards concern with adequacy of a more social kind. Adequacy in coping with moral issues gets some attention: there is much-increased mention of material possessions and/or socio-economic standing; for example, "a poor family," "they haven't much money," "he needs money," "their clothes are poor." This may well stem from a strengthening of social awareness and a consequent need for social approbation as well as for self-appraisal. That is, if physical adequacy is not a strong ground from which to issue a challenge to adult society, economic adequacy may be.

(b) Intellectual adequacy: Six ex-school B and two ex-school A subjects (47 per cent of the total group) give 10 themes of intellectual poverty or scholastic failure; only one subject gives a story about intellectual adequacy. Five of these 8 boys refer to general intellectual inability, 4 to lack of skill in mathematics, and one to difficulty with writing. Two of the boys (both ex-pupils of school B) reinforce the idea of concern with intellectual inadequacy

by making poor school reports the basis of stories to other cards. Two subjects, in response to Card III, actually describe the children as enjoying school.

Only one other boy of the 17 makes any incidental reference to intellectual adequacy in his stories, again a broad reference to children enjoying school in response to Card III.

So half the boys leave matters of intellectual ability and school achievement completely without comment, the other half treats them predominantly as regions of inadequacy and sources of unpleasantness. The half-group producing themes of intellectual inadequacy consists mostly of the boys who on Rogers' Test rate themselves as very like "Sam" who "gets good marks in all his school work," and to a lesser degree as like "Bob" who is "the brightest boy in the school." Similarly, they tend to check, on the average, more worries in the area "school" than elsewhere on the Check List (just exceeds statistical significance, $p = .15$ on a one-tailed test). On the other hand neither IQ nor MA appears to be related to the production of intellectually-inadequate heroes. Boys of both high- and low-level IQ and MA are found amongst both those with intellectual-

inadequacy themes and those without. One may therefore reasonably hypothesize that while the subjects are skilful and accurate in assessing their intellectual skill and brightness (as shown by the closeness of their self-ratings for brightness in Rogers' Test and their measured IQ), those that think - or say - they get good marks tend to be those who are concerned with being able to maintain them and so tend to produce core ideas of inadequacy in, and difficulty with school work.

As in Grade VI, only boys from school A produce stories about looking for a job. Two of the 3 who do so are those who did so the previous year. Obvious differences in the job-getting stories of the 2 years are the greater realism in the later stories, and the appearance of that recognition of the need for effort to achieve success as is shown in the E class themes of physical adequacy. Typical of these differences are the heroes of one boy who in Grade VI presents a hero who without any training or experience, drives a train and for no reason receives a reward, while in the following year his hero fails to get several jobs because of character weakness, and only when "he mends his ways" is he finally employed at a realistic salary of \$100 per month.

(C) Primary School Girls - Grade VI Composition of Group

School A N = 7

School B N = 19

Total N = 26

(See Appendix IV Tables 100, 103)

The girls produce a large number of stories in which the hero is unable to cope, not infrequently because she is the victim of some deprivation such as the loss of a parent or friend or property, that is, because of external circumstances which overwhelm her. These are treated as themes of personal inadequacy rather than as themes of personal relationships because, although relationships are the birthplace of the story, the theme is primarily that of dealing - by admission, ineffectual effort, or effectual effort - with the deprivation.

Inadequacy occurs much more frequently than adequacy. All but 2 girls (24 girls, 92 per cent of the total group) have one or more themes of inadequacy, only 10 (38 per cent) of adequacy. Altogether personal adequacy/inadequacy themes total 86 (26 per cent of the total themes for all stories) of which 66 are of inadequacy, and of these 50 have child-heroes.

(a) Physical competence, motor skills, health, physical appearance. The girls show almost no preoccupation with

physical competence and what little there is comes almost entirely from the girls of school B. All the stories with this theme are about ill health (fatigue 1, toothache 2, headache 1), which, though in 3 instances producing interruptions of efficiency and routine, is treated as a sort of natural evil and endured with stoic fortitude. In this sense one might say the heroes are, after all, adequate. Are females so young expressing an innate capacity to tolerate pain or reflecting an inculcated attitude that since pain is likely to play a large part in a female's life she may as well learn early to accept it without complaint? The same discounting of pain and the same resilience characterizes the few side-references to pain and injury. For example: "after being sick, I was alright in a few days it was a very enjoyable week": and again: "it's five miles from the school to the house they are very tired when they reach it, but they are happy when the house is in sight and all start to run."

In all the stories there are only 2 references on the credit side to physical appearance: one girl's hero is "very pretty" and another's wears "a pretty frock." Five other subjects have heroes who are shabby and poverty-stricken.

If the area of personal adequacy is extended to include inner states of the person as well as outer states of dress

appearance and skill, the subjects add more in terms of inadequacy. Nine girls have heroes (sometimes more than one hero) who are shy or lonely or afraid.

The lack of reference to physical beauty is not unduly surprising in view of the fact that on the Rogers' Test the majority of the girls rated themselves "as good looking as most" and only 4 gave first choice to the wish "to be prettier." However the projection of poverty is thought-provoking since every girl on the Rogers' Test rated her clothes as "nice enough" or "very good," and most of them rated themselves as near to having "the nicest clothes in the school." This being so, is the poverty projected really poverty as such? On Card IV it could perhaps be a reaction to the fashion-era presented. But "poverty" is not restricted to this one specific card; it occurs in response to Cards II, and VIII, and on Card VIII at least the costume does not seem conspicuously "dated" or "poor." Poverty could be symbolic of some more basic quality such as inferiority or a general concern with possessions which, as seems probable with the secondary school boys, represent a measure of status with which to confront adult society.

References to skill in physical activities and courage in the face of physical danger do little to enhance the picture of the hero's adequacy. The one successful swimming and boating hero is balanced out by the one who fails at fishing. Heroes who have to deal with snakes are afraid, run away and call for help on 5 out of 7 occasions.

(b) Intellectual ability and achievement. This is the area of personal adequacy in which there is a big number of themes, most of them again dealing with inadequacy and backed up by quite a wealth of incidental references. Seventeen subjects give stories about difficulty or failure in one or all of their school subjects: only 5 give "success stories." Four subjects make no reference at all to adequacy in school work. These 4 comprise 2 with the highest IQ in the group (i.e. IQ 138) and who rate themselves on Rogers' as "very bright" and "high in school marks", and 2 of average intelligence who rate themselves as "not very bright" and "poor in school marks". But the one thing they share in common is that not one of them chooses as either first, second or third choice, the wish "to be brighter". Presumably these 4 are indeed not concerned about school work.

Only one of the total 26 school-adequacy themes (6 adequacy, 20 inadequacy) is given to Card III, the obvious

class-room situation. Card VIII evoked 15 of them, Card XI 6, Card X 3, and Card XII one. Eight themes (2 of adequacy, 6 of inadequacy) refer to school achievements in general, 10 (all of inadequacy) to arithmetic, and the remainder to a variety of specific school subjects. Of all school subjects the girls evidently regard arithmetic as the bug-bear.

The incidental references introduce a little optimism. For thirteen references to inadequacy, chiefly to failure in arithmetic and reading and to poor attitudes to school work - for example, "she can't be bothered doing her school work," "she was inattentive," "I was not doing my best" - there are 9 references to adequacy in specific subjects and, from 3 subjects with themes of intellectual inadequacy, statements that children on Card III are "enjoying school."

The overall feeling, however, remains one of dissatisfaction and difficulty with, or failure in school work. Not only is this failure in the eyes of adults, as is common in the themes, but it is also failure in the eyes of the subjects themselves as is evident in the more casual references to heroes made in stories concerned primarily with other aspects of behaviour than academic achievement. Even in games of strategy the female heroes tend to be inferior - 7 out of 10 are defeated at checkers.

Deprivation and Personal Adequacy

Personal adequacy in the face of deprivation or unhappy fortuitous circumstances arises in a sufficient body of stories to be treated separately. It is an area of projection not really allowed for in the Rogers' Test and the Check List, and for which there is therefore in these measures no corresponding evidence.

More than three quarters of the girls (19 out of 26, or 73 per cent) create stories in which some sort of deprivation is a major element. Poverty, loss of parents, and destruction of favourite possessions are the most frequent. Altogether there are 25 stories with deprivation as an essential component and 11 others where it has a minor but nevertheless noteworthy part. No card entirely escapes this type of response but Card IV is the most highly evocative (11 stories), followed in order by Cards VII, VIII, and XI. One subject uses the obverse situation - superfluity - in the same way that the others use deprivation. The depriving circumstances and their projected outcomes are shown in Table 105, Appendix IV.

It is noticeable that the outcomes of these stories tend to contain the same elements:

1. the dependence of the child, e.g. passivity,

demand for succorance, or running away from the situation,

2. inadequacy of the adult, e.g. the adult is unable to "mend" the situation, (the doll, the hurt, etc.),

3. the "bringing to heel" of the adult - e.g. the adult promises succorance; "bad" adults are eliminated.

The inadequacy of both child and adult is clearly seen in most of the deprivation responses to Card IV where the doll (not sufficiently structured in the stimulus to be definitely either whole or maimed) is identified as broken, the girl as disturbed, and the adult (usually the mother) as unable to mend the doll.

The first explanatory hypothesis that leaps to the mind is that of sibling rivalry, but one subject has no siblings, and the other subjects giving this type of response to Card IV present little evidence of sibling rivalry on the Rogers' or elsewhere in the tests. This by no means excludes sibling rivalry as the underlying motivation for these responses but other interpretations may well be considered. One suggestion is that the doll, broken and mourned for, symbolizes the stage of childhood being lost with the advent of puberty (menstruation being seen as a "damaging" event?); the projected inadequacy of the mother to mend the doll represents the subject's realization of

the mother's inability to restore her childhood, and the mother's promises to mend or replace the doll in the future symbolizes her willingness to give what succorance she can in the unexplored and unknown stage of growing-up which lies ahead.

Another interpretation of the more general deprivation themes - where often the deprivation is literally a punitive measure such as being sent to bed without tea - is that it is being used to project a sense of need-for-punishment for guilt provoked by conflicting drives. At the pre-pubertal and early pubertal stages in which these girls most certainly are, the desire for independence stirs strongly and sets up the ambivalent situation of wanting to remain a child with parental protection along with wanting to be an individual free of controlling parental shackles. Deprivation imposes pain - that is, punishment - and expresses, as in the case of heroes who lose parents and who have dolls which are broken or destroyed, a fear of loss of parental acceptance and protection (even a loss of the parents themselves). Simultaneously it makes a demand for parental succorance-belongingness (which is seen as being given) while proving parental inability to help and so

providing a rationalization for future assertion of independence.

Whether or not this symbolism is accepted, the subjects in their creation of deprivation situations project themselves as feeling dependent, unable to deal adequately with major losses of security such as the breaking of affectional bonds, and unsure of the ability of adults to give them the help they need.

There seems to be some parallel between the girls' deprivation stories and the "lost boy" stories of the boys, though these latter tend to be confined to Card XI which is structured rather specifically, whereas the girls' responses are given to a variety of cards.

However the boys' stories have the same characteristics of testing adults for competence to act supportively, of finding them emotionally reactive but ineffectual, and of "just" punishment given by circumstances to the hero for rebellion against the adult.

(D) Secondary School Girls - E Class Composition of Group

All subjects	{	ex-School A	N = 6
did the EPST		ex-School B	N = 11
in Grade VI		Total	N = 17

(See Appendix IV Tables 100,104)

Thirty-two per cent of the response themes (67 of a total 209) come in this category; 90 denote inadequacy, 17 adequacy. Of these, 44 are associated with female child-heroes in the ratio of 9 inadequate to every 2 adequate heroes. Deprivation and failure or difficulties in school work are frequent core situations; health and physical skill and reaction to physical danger figure infrequently. Unpleasant states such as loneliness and embarrassment occur sufficiently often to be noteworthy. Only one girl gives no major themes related to personal inadequacy; most girls give at least 2.

(a) Physical competence, motor skill, health, physical appearance: There is little projection of these. On three occasions sickness is the motif, but there are no other themes or references to suggest that concern with health persists in even a minor way to colour the interpretation of life of the remaining subjects. The 3 subjects with health themes see sickness as producing 3 distinctly different effects -

1. On Card X as calling up support and co-operation from adults, and thereby being overcome and ceasing to create distress.
2. On Card VIII as calling up rejection by adults, and consequently as remaining and increasing tension.
3. On Card VIII as calling up co-operation from adults but as remaining and providing a means of escape from other tensions.

Physical beauty is not mentioned, and the 20 incidental references to motor-skill in games and sport are 3 to 2 in favour of inadequacy.

Unhappiness, loneliness and such "low" emotional states - usually in association with school situations - are thematic for 9 girls and also crop up incidentally, sometimes in relation to characters other than the heroes, in several other stories, whereas statements or implications that the characters are "happy" or "enjoying themselves" are rare.

(b) Intellectual ability and achievement. In contrast to physical adequacy, themes dealing with intellectual adequacy occur frequently. Some aspect of intellectual adequacy occurs as a theme in the protocols of 13 subjects. There are altogether 20 thematic treatments of intellectual

achievement and 12 incidental references. Only 5 of the themes and 5 of the references present adequacy. Arithmetic is the one subject singled out (6 themes), and every time is presented as being difficult and causing failure.

(c) Deprivation and personal adequacy: Subjects continue to create stories and situations of deprivation with nearly as great frequency after transfer to the secondary school as before. Twelve (71 per cent) of the 17 constituting the B class group create them, and while 3 who projected deprivation situations in Grade VI no longer do so, one other subject formerly not doing so, now does. Card IV is still the most highly evocative of deprivation situations (Appendix IV, Table 106).

The heroes, in dealing with these situations, are seldom effective and often, passive (effective 5, ineffective 6, passive 12). However, more often than not, they do not spontaneously turn to an adult for assistance and an adult becomes involved in the outcome in only 13 out of the total 23 situations. On several of these occasions the adult comes into the story initially as someone trying to prise the reason for anxiety from the hero and only later is revealed as sympathetic and helpful or otherwise. On the whole the adult's behaviour

tends to be shown as at least well-intentioned if not highly effective (sympathetic 5 times, affective 4 times, ineffective 4 times). This is perhaps evidence of a further development in the self-picture of the subject projected on to the hero. Though still not able to deal positively with deprivation - whatever it may symbolize - the hero either accepts the adult as unable, even if sympathetic, to assume responsibility for her, or the hero draws further away from dependence on the adult and so no longer demands his or her succorance. In fact there is an inclination to look instead to peers for co-operation and strength in dealing with difficulties.

Again there is no simple or obvious evidence that the broken or lost doll responses to Card IV are projections of sibling jealousy. Not one of the girls giving such a response backs it up elsewhere in the RST or the Rogers' with any definite indication of sibling rivalry or lack of parental affection. On the contrary, an argument for a more sexual connotation might be made for some responses, for example, in the 2 responses where the doll is broken by attack from a male peer. In one of these "Johnny" throws a stone at the hero who defends herself with the

doll but "the stone had hit it's head and made a hole" which could not be mended. In the other response the doll is thrown on the ground by the attacking male peer with the result that "it was cracked right up the middle" and had to be hospitalised.

Subjects then, as projected onto their heroes, feel inadequate and threatened by failure in academic situations. They also feel a threat of injury or of separation from the parent(s) with which adults - usually the parent - are not able effectively to help them deal and seem indeed to be intruding rather than helping. There are indications that the girls are looking instead to their peers for the help they need.

II. Social and Family Relationships

(See Appendix IV, Tables 105-124) The material in this section is organized a little differently from that in corresponding sections of the analysis of the Check List and Rogers' Test where the itemization of the measures allowed a breaking up of discussion into discrete sections. In the analysis of the MBST, family relationships are linked with social adequacy. In some sub-sections the discussion will treat the 4 groups of subjects in combination rather than separately because of the similarity of their responses.

The social world of a child contains himself, his peers, his juniors, and older people in close or more-distant relationships. The MPST presents him with representations of a sample of these social relationships and especially of peers and adults in close relationship to himself. The adults with whom in real life the subjects are, by nature of cultural and legal regulations, most frequently associated and most closely in contact, are parents or parent-substitutes and teachers, most often in authoritative roles. Less frequently adults who are neither parents nor teachers appear in the subjects' stories: these are designated "other adults." The adult-to-child relationships projected on these cards are most often authoritative ones - for all groups in the approximate ratio of 2 authority to one non-authority.

A. Authority-to-hero Relationships

Authority is not necessarily synonymous with conflict. For the large part of adult society, authority and its rules are the expression and off-spring of its own conformity and so thoroughly accepted as to produce effortless submission or compliance. But these subjects are not adults. Adult authority and its rules are not outgrowths of their own drives and schemes for self-preservation,

and authority, as they see it, is frequently synonymous with conflict.

(a) Boys' responses

The stories of both primary and secondary school boys suggest a significantly higher proportion of conflict than of co-operation in the adult-child authority relationships; in the ratio of 80 per cent to 20 per cent in Grade VI, and 84 per cent to 16 per cent in E class. And whereas all the subjects in both years use conflict themes, only 10 boys the first year and 8 the next year give themes of co-operation. This predominance of conflict occurs whether the authority figure is identified as parent or teacher (see Table 55), but the projections of the Grade VI boys are more ambivalent in relation to more distant (and impersonal) authority figures such as police.

Grade VI boys from school A tend to project their conflict-punitive relationships onto situations outside school and family relatively more often than the boys from school B do (Table 56 and Appendix IV, Table 98), though the difference in frequencies is not statistically significant ($.1 > p > .05$ for one-tailed test). In E class

TABLE 55

Predominance of Conflict over Co-operation in
 Authority Relationships
 Boys : Grade VI & E Class

Authority Figure	Relationship		Chi-square goodness of fit	p
	Conflict	Co-operation		
Grade VI				
parent	33	7	16.9	<.001
teacher	24	2	18.6	<.001
E Class				
parent	17	8	3.2	.2 > p > .1
teacher	15	0	15.0	<.001

the boys are more ambivalent about parent-child relationships (Table 57; Appendix IV, Table 99).

What are the issues over which boy and society are in conflict? Does he regard authority as being right? or as winning the issue? or as disregarding him? A more specific study of these stories throws some light on the sources of conflict with authority.

TABLE 56
Conflict Situations in Michigan Picture Test Stories
Boys : Grade VI (N=27)

	School & number of subjects involved	Naughty in school usually in- attentive	T truancy or escape from school	Companions	Fighting	Disobedience aggression (other than fighting)	Dress	Stealing	School work	Breakage	Traffic offences	Other - e.g. "something wrong, "in trouble"	Totals
With teach- ers	School A N = 5	3	2	1									6
	School B N = 12	4	1		1	5	3					5	19
	Σ	7	3	1	1	5	3					5	25
With par- ents	School A N = 9		1	1	1	4		4		2		2	15
	School B N = 13		2		1			3	2	2	2	6	18
	Σ		3	1	2	4		7	2	4	2	8	33
With others	School A N = 6				1			4				1	6
	School B N = 5							5					5
	Σ				1			9				1	11
Grand Totals		7	6	2	4	9	3	16	2	4	2	14	69

1) Grade VI boys (Table 56). Conflicts with parents and conflict with teachers naturally do not necessarily arise over the same issues. Teachers clash with pupils over classroom discipline; parents are seldom even included in stories connected with this. On the other hand, stealing, which could be a matter of school concern, is shown as something which produces parental reaction or even community (police) reaction, but is not within the provenance of the school. Stealing appears as the greatest single source of conflict outside the school and indeed outweighs in importance all other sources, those within the school included. The notion of stealing seems to exercise a strong general attraction, at least as an idea to toy with. Almost half the boys - 6 of the 15 school B boys, and 5 of the 11 School A boys - cogitate on stealing. Truancy and forms of aggression, especially aggression against authority, unlike classroom "naughtiness" and stealing, provoke conflict with authority figures of both school and home.

2) B class boys (Table 57). The B class boys

give classroom "naughtiness" such as inattention, and disobedience to codes of conduct within the school environs, such as kicking other boys (not necessarily fighting), as the two usual sources of trouble. The unparticularised situation of "he has done something wrong" probably belongs here also as the general tenor of these stories indicates that the boys have been unconflicting within the classroom. Briefly, according to the boys, teacher and boy get into conflict when the boy is indulging in some form of aggressive behaviour. Crimes against society and its property, such as stealing, destruction of property, traffic offences, gambling, seem to be in the foreground of their thinking. These constitute more than half the conflict situations in both years and figure in one or more stories of the majority of B class subjects. They occur in 10 of the 15 ex-school B boys and with all 7 of the ex-school A boys.

Behaviour of the "crimes-against-society" order is treated as not involving the school's attention but as being part of the home's responsibility. So in 50 per cent of these types of situations the outcome involves police appeal to parents, or vice versa, and

TABLE 56
Conflict Situations in Michigan Picture Test Stories
Boys : Grade VI (N=27)

	School & number of subjects involved	Naughty in school usually in- attentive	T truancy or escape from school	Companions	Fighting	Disobedience aggression (other than fighting)	Dress	Stealing	School work	Breakage	Traffic offences	Other - e.g. "something wrong, "in trouble"	Totals
With teach- ers	School A N = 5	3	2	1									6
	School B N = 12	4	1		1	5	3					5	19
	Σ	7	3	1	1	5	3					5	25
With par- ents	School A N = 9		1	1	1	4		4		2		2	15
	School B N = 13		2		1			3	2	2	2	6	18
	Σ		3	1	2	4		7	2	4	2	8	33
With others	School A N = 6				1			4				1	6
	School B N = 5							5					5
	Σ				1			9				1	11
Grand Totals		7	6	2	4	9	3	16	2	4	2	14	69

TABLE 57

Conflict Situations in Michigan Picture Test Stories

Boys : B Class (N=17)

	School & non- ber of subjects Involved	Naughty in school - usually inattentive	Frustracy or escape from school	Companions	Fighting	Disobedience aggression (other than fighting)	Dress	Stealing	School work	Bullying	Traffic offences	Other - e.g. "some- thing wrong" "in trouble"	Totals
With	ex-School												
teach-	A N=3	1			1	1				1			4
ers	ex-School												
	B N=9	2	1			6			1			3	13
	Σ	3	1		1	7			1	1		3	17
With	ex-School												
par-	A N=7					1		3	1	2		1	6
ents	ex-School												
	B N=8					3			2	1		3	9
	Σ					4		3	3	3		4	17
With	ex-School												
others	A N=5									2	1	1	4
	ex-School												
	B N=4							1		2		1	4
	Σ							1		4	1	2	8
Grand	Totals	3	1		1	11		4	4	8	1	9	42

both meting out punishment to the hero. Similarly the home's prerogative is depicted as extending to matters occurring within the school: misbehaviour in school as well as failure in school-work are sources of conflict with parents. The home's sphere of control and responsibility is evidently seen as much more extensive than that of the school, in spite of the belief currently often held that parents are very ready to transfer their responsibilities to the school.

(b) Girls' responses

The themes of relationships projected by the girls as existing between hero and adult authority figures differ from those projected by the male subjects. Like the Grade VI boys, the Grade VI girls project more conflicting than co-operative relationships (57 per cent compared with 43 per cent), but the difference between the numbers of each is not significant. Similarly there is no statistically significant difference between the numbers of these two types of themes in the following year. However, the shift in the balance between them suggests the probability of a trend towards the projection

of less conflict and more co-operation between both teachers and parents and the heroes. This is basically therefore a different pattern from that of the boys who produce in both years a great preponderance of conflict themes. Again in both Grade VI and B class the number of girls producing co-operation themes (not the numbers of themes produced), is as great as the number producing conflict themes.

The teacher is presented in both years as predominantly a figure in conflict with the child: stories of his hostility to the hero far outweigh in number those of his co-operativeness (Grade VI: Chi-square = 16.2, $p < .001$; B class: Chi-square = 7.34, $p < .02$). Comparison with parent-child relationships accentuates this image of teacher-child opposition, for the teacher greatly exceeds the parent as the adult involved in conflict (Grade VI: Chi-square = 13.2, $p < .001$; B class: Chi-square = 6.0, $p < .02$). In Grade VI, 86 per cent (21) of the girls create stories of conflict with the teacher, only 27 per cent (7) of conflict with the parents, and 11.5 per cent (3) of conflict with other adult figures. In B class 76 per cent (13) of the girls depict the hero

in conflict with the teacher, 35 per cent (6) in conflict with the parents.

The parent, in contrast to the teacher, is projected in the majority of adult-authority themes as co-operative (Grade VI: Chi-square = 5.44, $p < .02$; B class: Chi-square = 9.2, $p < .02$). In terms of numbers of subjects, 27 per cent (7) of the Grade VI subjects identify the teacher as the co-operative figure, 73 per cent (19) the parents; and for B class the figures are 15 per cent (4) and 82 per cent (14) respectively.

Other adult figures in authority roles are seldom introduced by the primary school girls and not at all by the secondary school girls (see Appendix IV, Table 100). Male and female groups in both years differ significantly in this respect: for Grade VI groups Chi-square = 0.3, $p < .01$; for B class groups Chi-square = 12.5, $p < .001$. One might assume that authority outside school and home is not yet something which impinges strongly enough on the female subjects to force its way into projective expression, and that there is a difference between male and female subjects which may stem from greater freedom given boys to wander "outside the home," to participate

in leisure activities and to undertake part-time employment, all of which are likely to bring the boy into closer and more frequent contact with other-adult-authority. But this cannot blandly be assumed to account entirely for the differences in readiness to project other-adult identifications. It may be that the structure of the cards for females make them less susceptible to projection of other-adult situations. There is certainly a lack of comparability of cards to be considered in respect to Cards XII and XIV where the boy's card presents two adult figures and the girl's none; and to Cards IIB and IB where the adult figure in both cards is a male, and therefore presents different sex-relationship possibilities to male and female subjects. Card XI is the more suspect card in the matter of stimulus for other-adult situations. Male subjects often identify the adult male figure on Card XII as a "policeman" and establish the chief relationship of their story between the hero and this highly authoritarian character; female subjects produce no other-adult to hero relationships at all for Card XIV where there is no similar figure provided, and they sometimes introduce no interpersonal relationship

at all since the stimulus-figure is alone.

Conflict and its sources in the girls' stories are as follows.

1) Grade VI girls (Table 58). Since projections of conflict with other-adults are almost non-existent and with parents are relatively few, and the number of girls (9) giving these constitutes only 35 per cent of the group, there is not much evidence as to what sources are most provocative of conflict with parents and with people in the outside community. At first glance general attitudes (for example, surliness) and eating-behaviour look to be fruitful causes of conflict. But this is deceptive since all the "attitude" themes in relation to parents are produced by only 2 girls, and 2 of the 3 "eating behaviour" themes refer to the small boy on Card I who is treated as the hero of the story even though the girl-figure offers a closer identification with the subjects. Only one girl attaches the eating-behaviour to the girl figure who, through being difficult about her food, causes herself to be rejected by the mother and supplanted by the brother with whom the mother "is very happy."

TABLE 58
Conflict Situations in Michigan Picture Test Stories
Girls : Grade VI (N=26)

	School & number of subjects involved	"Taughty" in school e.g. in- attentive	Compan- ions	Leisure activ- ities	Aggress- ion	Disobed- ience	School work	General attit- ude	Ending behav- iour	Other	Total
With teacher	School A N = 6	4				2	3	1			10
	School B N = 15	8			1	4	8	2		2	25
	Σ	12			1	6	11	3		2	35
With par- ents	School A N = 3					1	1	2	1		5
	School B N = 4			1				2	2	1	6
	Σ			1		1	1	4	3	1	11
With other adults	School A N = 1									1	1
	School B N = 2						1	1			2
	Σ						1	1		1	3
Grand Totals 12				1	1	7	13	8	3	4	49

TABLE 59
Conflict Situations in Michigan Picture Test Stories
Girls : E Class (N=17)

	School & number of subjects involved	"Naughty" in school e.g. in- attentive	Compan- ions	Leisure activ- ities	Aggress- ion	Disobed- ience	School work	General attit- ude	Dating behav- iour	Other	Total
With teacher	School A										
	N = 4	3	1			1	1				6
	School B					1	3	2			13
	N = 9	7									
	Σ	10	1			2	4	2			19
With par- ents	School A										
	N = 1									1	1
	School B										
	N = 5	2					2	2			6
	Σ	2					2	2		1	7
With other adults											
	Σ										
										Nil	
Grand Totals 12			1			2	6	4		1	26

With respect to the teacher, the conflict sources are more clearly apparent. "Naughtiness" - which when elaborated proves without exception to include either talking at the wrong time or being inattentive - and disobedience, often in conjunction with "naughtiness", account for half of all the themes of teacher-child conflict. The other major source of conflict is the quality of the school work produced. Altogether 69 per cent of the subjects produce one or more stories based on conflict stemming from one of these three sources.

None of this projected conflict involves or implies much in the way of highly active or physical opposition to the teacher - though the teacher may retaliate with physical activity (Appendix IV, Table 109). Overt hostile activity of the hero includes giggling, talking, and turning round, and may even extend to a refusal to carry out the teacher's instructions, whereas the boys' heroes indulge in more violent behaviour such as "throwing things about the classroom," "hitting other boys." The girls' heroes seem even to have a passive quality; they are variously described as "lazy," as not able to "be bothered about school work," as having failed

to do or to complete their work - all of which suggest a more covert, passive resistance to teacher authority.

Crimes against society - of the stealing, window-breaking type - are absent from the stories, but there are the glimmerings of one typically female conflict with society in the implied rape and seduction themes used by three subjects.

2) E Class girls (Table 59). The sources of conflict indicated in Grade VI and in E class do not significantly differ. With the smaller E class group there are differences in absolute numbers, but in terms of relative numbers what has been said of the primary girls applies to the secondary girls. However, there is this difference, that in E class girls who express conflict arising from unsatisfactory school work make, without exception, an association between failure in school work and dislike of the teacher. This association does not extend in this unflinching way to other teacher-hero conflict situations.

(c) Reactions to conflict situations

1. Grade VI boys: The reactions of the two chief authority-figures, teacher and parent, to the heroes

present some differences. The frequencies of reaction-responses of teacher and parent grouped under 6 headings "anger", "verbal reproof", "physical punishment", "deprivation punishment", "forgiveness", and "other", are significantly different (Chi-square = 14.7, df 5, $p < .02$).

Teachers are projected as "angry", apt to combine verbal reproof and physical punishment, seldom forgiving. Parents (usually fathers, because of the structure of the cards), are also projected as angry, but prone to punish by deprivation, though, like teachers, they often combine this with other forms of punishment (for details of responses of individual subjects to conflict situations, see Appendix IV, Table 107). The above presentation of reactions may, however, be misleading as it does not take into account variations in the number of stories given by the individual subjects, and it is obvious that some subjects tend to reiterate patterns of responses. To allow for this, the chief reactions are again summarized this time according to the numbers of subjects in whose stories the response occurs, regardless of whether or not the reaction is repeated in other stories by the same subject. (Table 60)

TABLE 60

Reactions in Conflict Situations

Boys

Reaction		No. of subjects projecting reaction		
		Teacher	<u>to hero from</u> Parent	Total
Anger	Grade VI	(1+6)*	(6+4)	(6+7)
		7	10	13
	E Class	(3+1)	(6+6)	(6+6)
		4	12	12
Physical punishment	Grade VI	(3+6)	(2+3)	(6+6)
		9	5	12
	E Class	(1+5)	(2+3)	(4+6)
		6	5	10
Punishment by deprivation	Grade VI	(1+1)	(6+6)	(7+6)
		2	12	13
	E Class	(1+2)	(2+6)	(3+6)
		3	8	9
Punishment by rebuke	Grade VI	(1+5)	(2+4)	(3+8)
		6	6	11
	E Class	(1+2)	(1+5)	(2+5)
		3	6	7
No. of subjects projecting reaction				
		Teacher	<u>from hero to</u> Parent	Total
Shame or sorrow	Grade VI	(1+3)	(3+3)	(3+3)
		4	6	6
	E Class	(0+1)	(5+6)	(5+6)
		1	11	11
Reform	Grade VI	(3+1)	(3+3)	(4+4)
		4	6	8
	E Class	(0+0)	(1+1)	(1+1)
		0	2	2
Worry		(1+3)	(0+0)	(1+1)
Fear		2	0	2
		(2+5)	(0+0)	(2+5)
		7	0	7

* First number in brackets indicates School A, second number indicates School B.

The reactions projected by the Grade VI boys onto teachers and parents are not greatly different, the only significant difference being the greater use by parents of deprivation ($p < .01$). The use of physical punishment is not accredited by significantly more subjects to teachers than to parents. Anger, physical punishment, punishment by deprivation and verbal punishment are the main reactions, with adult expression of anger presented by one out of every two subjects as concomitant with conflict between the adult and boy.

In the case of authority-adults other than teachers and parents, the adult is portrayed as responding by physical reprimand. Whether it is axiomatic to the subjects that these more remote adults will not waste words or time in verbal anger, or whether it just does not occur to the subjects as a possible reaction from them, the fact remains that for other adults verbal reaction seldom merits a mention.

It is perhaps indicative of their concern with what is happening to them rather than with what they are doing to others, that the subjects leave undefined a much higher number of the reactions of the heroes than of the

authority figures ($\text{Chi-square} = 5.74, p < .02$). (See Appendix IV, Tables 107, 111. Or perhaps the subjects are not capable of defining clearly or selecting from the complexity of things they might like to do the response they would most wish to make if they were actually in the circumstances they are describing. Even when asked during the inquiry to try to say what the hero's response might be, several subjects were unable or unwilling to say. (Appendix IV, Table 111).

Insofar as the weight of the heroes' reactions falls in the classifications "reform", "submission", "denial and sorrow", and "future avoidance", one might say the subjects recognize the behaviour expected of them by teacher and parent and are prepared to pay at least lip service to the theory that "crime (or conflict) does not pay."

The types of reactions made by the hero might be loosely grouped into (a) internal-emotional (see Appendix IV, Table 111, columns 1-5) and (b) external-active (columns 7-12). In the former the reaction is a positive but inner state of being. In the latter some action, even the rather negative action of submitting, is implied. In terms of actual responses the majority of hero-reactions falls sufficiently evenly into the two classes (21 : 33) as to

be not significantly different statistically (Chi-square goodness of fit = 2.66, df 1, $.1 > p > .05$). Similarly if the subjects are divided into those who project onto their heroes only emotional-internal, only active-external, both, or neither of these reactions, then the groups compare as follows: for School A subjects, 4:4:2:1; for School B subjects, 6:6:3:0; and for the combined group, 10:10:5:1. Even if the 5 subjects giving both types of reactions were redistributed either all to emotional-internal responses group or all to the active-external responses group, the ratio would in both cases be 15:10 and not significantly different. So in the projected reactions of the primary school boys there is no one over-riding mode of reaction. Hypothetically, (and assuming these responses are projections of the subjects' own reactions), an authority-adult has, when in conflict with boys of this group, a roughly 50/50 chance of promoting in the subject himself an "inner-feeling" reaction, that is, some inner experience of moral or emotional evaluation, and an equal chance of promoting some overt reaction.

2. E Class boys. The responses of the secondary boys are characterized by the entry of "fear" into hero

reactions. Seven boys (58 per cent of all those setting up teacher-pupil conflict situations) attribute this feeling to their heroes and 2 more boys attribute fear to heroes in conflict with outside authority (police). In all, "fear" occurs as 39 per cent of all the defined responses. Fear, as such, is not mentioned by the primary school boys; the nearest approach is "worry" which may perhaps be synonymous and which is mentioned by 2 boys and projected twice in relation to teachers and once in relation to other-adult authority (not identified). Differences in both numbers of boys mentioning and numbers of heroes showing fear in the 2 years is statistically significant ($p < .02$).

While there is fear but virtually no shame or sorrow in the hero's reaction to the teacher, there is no fear but frequent mention of shame and sorrow in the reaction to the parent (Appendix IV, Table 112). Eleven of the 15 boys projecting parent-child conflict situations express shame or worry compared with 6 out of 21 boys in the previous year. That is, the relationships between teacher and hero and parent and hero differ. The teacher is not treated as if he were a parent-reflection or parent-substitute. Perhaps

he remains, in the eyes of the subjects, something that their parents are ceasing to be, namely the embodiment of superior strength or power. Not only has he physical power - the power behind the cane that he may successfully, by tradition, use long after the father has tacitly abandoned physical admonition - but he may also symbolize the strength of impersonal society (the community) and its forces: external forces which are to be feared. The parent, on the other hand, is by introjection a fundamental part of the subject himself, he remains the material expression of internal forces - the subject's conscience. Conflict with the father is also therefore conflict with the self: hence the evidence in "shame" and "sorrow" of a mind not at ease with itself.

This internalizing of reactions, which is, theoretically, expected to accompany progress towards emotional maturity, is evident in the total pattern of reactions. Divided into internal-emotional and external-active responses, as was done with the responses of the primary boys' heroes, the ratio is now 28:11, the weight falling on the emotional responses (Chi-square, goodness of fit 7.41, $p < .01$). And if the subjects are divided and categorised according to their responses, as before, the ratios are: for ex-School A

4:1:3:0; for ex-School B, 6:0:2:1, and for the combined group 10:1:5:1. As this stands the probability of getting an external-active reaction is significantly higher than of getting an external-emotional reaction. But if the 5 subjects giving both types of response are redistributed the limits of the distribution become 15:1:1 with the occurrence of internal-emotional responses even more likely, or 10:6:1, in which case the frequencies for the internal-emotional and external-active reactions are not significantly different. The projected reactions of adults to heroes have changed little in the 12 or so months between testing, for example, paternal punishment by deprivation is used by 12 out of 21 subjects* in Grade VI and by 8 out of 15* in E class. There appears to be a tendency for more subjects to mention explicitly anger in relation to the parent (10 out of 21 in Grade VI, 12 out of 15 in E class) than to all other adults, but this is not quite pronounced enough to reach significance ($.1 > p > .05$). However anger is expressed significantly more often as a parent-reaction than as a teacher-reaction ($p < .05$), even

* Number projecting parent-hero conflict situations.

though it is the teacher of whom the hero is said to be afraid. The shame of the hero in response to the anger of the father and the sympathy of the mother, but virtually non-existent in relation to the teacher ($p < .01$), suggests a deeper or closer involvement than occurs between the teacher and the hero. Possibly the teacher symbolizes a relatively emotionless, impersonal society, and arouses in the hero a fear of forces outside himself and stronger than himself.

More mothers in conflict-situations are shown as sympathetic by E class boys than by Grade VI boys but the increase is not enough to be significant. Of the 9 mothers in the Grade VI parent-child conflict stories, only 3 showed distress compared with 6 out of 8 in the E class stories (Fisher exact test $p > .05$).

3. Grade VI girls: Analysis in terms of the number of subjects projecting the various reactions or in terms of the number of times a reaction occurs in the total collection of variables alters the picture of parent-child and teacher-child reactions only slightly and certainly not materially (Appendix IV, Tables 113, 114).

Corporal punishment, though forbidden for use with girls in schools, is nevertheless sometimes projected as a

reaction, but deprivation of liberty by detention is the customarily projected teacher reaction. Emotional reactions from the teacher are few. Even the "wholesome" emotional release of anger is seldom attributed to the teacher - at least in the girls' stories. Even if it is thought to be a component in a chain of teacher-reactions, only once is it mentioned in this context; and as an end-reaction in itself it is rarely projected. The subjects tend to present the class-room teacher as impersonal and automatically restrictive, an unsympathetic authority to be avoided, deceived and defied rather than respected, even rather ineffectual without the support of other adults such as the parent or the headmaster. The subjects seem torn between the wish to retaliate against the teacher and the wisdom of conforming. Of the 21 subjects projecting teacher-child conflict 13 (School A 4, School B 9) create heroes who are resentful or defiant and 12 create heroes who are submissive and reforming (Appendix IV, Tables 113, 115).

Compare this with the boys' responses. Boys present the teacher as openly angry and likely to express his displeasure in physical punishment which would appear to wipe the slate clean (since there is little expression of resentment afterwards) and which appears to establish either

fear or respect, since there is also little evidence of subsequent retaliation or defiance. In real school-life, the girls are not subjected to physical punishment, and most of them in turn project heroes who are denied the cathartic effects - if such there are - of physical punishment (Appendix IV, Table 109). A number of their heroes behave as though in the frustration created by curbing their liberty (through detention), hostility is generated and the tension unspent in physical atonement is expressed in defiance and resentment - with no greater occurrence of reform than the boys show. Indeed in the case of 9 subjects, the hero submits or reforms only after first expressing defiance and resentment, as though this act of assertion is itself sufficiently tension-reducing to allow the hero to accept restriction and correction.

One wonders if these female subjects do regard physical punishment as purgative and therefore desirable. A survey of stories in which physical punishment does occur, administered either by the teacher or by the parent in support of the teacher, gives the following:

- subject (i) * : teacher smacks girl; girl reforms.
- subject (ii) : first story: children who fail to respond

* These numbers do not refer to subject identifications in Appendix I.

to verbal rebuke are punished corporally;
it "teaches the children a lesson."

second story: hero defies the teacher
by ignoring her detention; she is slapped;
she obeys.

subject (iii) : hero ignores teacher's instructions after
being reprovved and repeats the misdemeanor;
mother hears of it and spanks; hero obeys
teacher.

subject (iv) : children are impudent and defiant to
teacher; teacher reports them to headmaster
who canes them; children repent and present
acceptable work; there are apologies,
forgiveness and acceptance all round.

subject (v) : the teacher slaps several children, they
pretend to reform and conform but continue
under cover to flout the teacher.

subject (vi) : teacher detains hero; hero submits to
detention but repeats her offence; mother
supports teacher and smacks child hard;
outcome not stated

subject (vii) : teacher (male) is kind and forgiving of

- : child's disobedience and deception;
 hero does not respond; mother uses
 force; hero is ashamed, reforms and
 succeeds brilliantly at the work.
- subject (viii) : teacher (female) slaps the disobedient
 children; children ignore and become
 more aggressive; teacher gives up her
 work and leaves the school.

It is noticeable that in these stories there is no resentment of the physical punishment, and in 6 of the 9 stories (or with 6 of the 8 subjects) it is regarded as a successful and decisive method of solving the conflict situation.

The paucity of parent-child conflict themes restricts generalizations about projected parent reactions. Such reactions as are given are divided equally between coercion, deprivation and forgiveness, to which most heroes respond conformably with reform, submission, or some other relatively unoppositional reaction.

Incidental references to reactions between authority-adults and child-heroes follow the same lines as those given in the main themes. That is, the emphasis is on

deprivation first, then on verbal reproof and to a much less extent on physical force as the adult reactions, and on reform/submission, defiance/resentment, and avoidance as the main hero reactions.

If the heroes' reactions are categorized similarly to the boys', into internal-emotional (Appendix IV, Table 113, columns 1-6, and 13-15) and external-active (columns 8-12) the majority of Grade VI adult-child conflicts are seen to engender "external-active" responses (15:44, Chi-square goodness of fit = 14.26, $p < .001$). If, further, the subjects are classified according to whether they project on to their heroes internal-emotion responses, external-active responses, or both or neither of these types of responses, the frequencies are as follows: School B, 3:8:3:1, School A, 0:3:2:1, combined 3:11:5:2, with again the probability of getting children who give purely active responses significantly higher than that of getting those who give purely emotional ones (11 out of 21 compared with 3 out of 21; Chi-square 6.88, $p < .01$). (Table 115)

4. B class girls. There are no great differences between the primary and secondary girls in the projected reactions of the authority - adult to the child, and vice

versa, in conflict situations.

Of the girls projecting conflict themes, significantly fewer in B class than in Grade VI depict the teacher as using physical punishment (7:1, $p < .001$), and there is a tendency for fewer heroes to be submissive ($.2 > p > .10$). Approximately half of the 13^{*} subjects use both reform and defiance to resolve conflict situations and with 4 of them reform follows only after defiance.

However as to which mode of reaction may be expected to occur the more frequently - internal-emotional or external-active - no reasonable prediction can be made. "Emotional" reactions and "active" reactions occur with equal frequency in the stories, namely 18:17. Subjects grouped according to reactions categorized as before yield ratios :ex-School B, 2:1:6:0; ex-School A, 0:3:0:1; combined 2:4:6:1, with no significantly higher frequency of "active" than of "emotional" reactions (Appendix IV, Table 116).

(d) Sources of co-operation with authority adults

(For details of themes of, and incidental references to co-operation see Appendix IV, Tables 117, 118, 119, 120).

* This number refers only to those projecting conflict situations.

1) Boys:

(1) Grade VI boys. Teachers certainly do not seem to be spontaneously associated in their pupils' minds with co-operation. Themes of co-operation between hero and teacher occur only twice, once with a School A subject and once with a School B subject. Parents and "outsiders" fare a little better.

Situations in which authority-adults are seen as being co-operative have negligible overlap with those in which they are seen as being in conflict with the hero, and the only mildly recurrent co-operative situation is of helping a hero suffering physical pain and hardship.

TABLE 61

Situations of Co-operation between Hero and Authority-adult

Boys : Grade VI (N=26)

Hero with:	Type and Frequency of Situation						Total
	Physical pain, hardship, danger	Crime Prevention	Job getting	School work	Gifts	Other	
Teacher				2			2
Parent	2		1		2	2	7
Other adults	3	2	2				7
Total	5	2	3	2	2	2	16

However just as the pictures of hero-adequacy as given by the themes is modified by incidental references, so here too the incidental references to adult co-operation suggest that parental and other-adult co-operation is more frequent and varied in its occurrence than the themes alone imply. However, there is little indication through themes or incidental references of any feeling of co-operation between teacher and child.

In the whole total of the stories not devoted to authority-conflict and authority-co-operation there are some 48 "strong" incidental references to parent co-operation and non-co-operation. Of these 29 relate to the co-operation of other-adults and one to their non-co-operation, and only 3 to teacher co-operation. Even 6 subjects who gave no stories with adult-hero co-operation as the theme make some incidental reference to it, so that ultimately 20 of the total 26 boys project some idea of adult co-operation. The father's co-operation is generally depicted as being supportive and protective in danger, as participation in his children's enjoyment of leisure activities, and occasionally as helping them with their problems. The mother's co-operation has rather more of a quality of

"tender loving care" - she feeds the lost boy, takes the toothache sufferer to the dentist, and expresses sympathy and pleasure at appropriate moments of hurt or success.

(11) E class boys: Themes of co-operation are few. Eight boys each give one story with co-operation as the theme. The only card that prompts more than one such theme is Card IV (3 stories), and the only time the mother figures as the co-operative adult is on Card I where her role of caring for the family is the core of the story. Working with the hero or sharing his leisure time provides the most frequently used framework for co-operation between father and son (5 stories), and there is one story dealing with the father's generosity over money (in which the hero is actually not too sure of the father's co-operation) and another with the sympathy between father and son after a broken window episode.

As in Grade VI there is almost no coincidence of settings of conflict and co-operation themes.

While in both Grade VI and E class the boys project on to the male adult figure in the authority situation, with no significantly different frequency, the identifications of teacher and parent (Grade VI, Chi-square = 2.96, $p > .05$;

E class, Chi-square = 2.28, $p > .05$), the two groups differ in the roles which they attribute to father and teacher. In Grade VI the boys associate a very high proportion of antagonism (conflict themes) and very little co-operation with both parent and teacher. In E class they continue this pattern in relation to the teacher, but the parent, though still shown by more boys as conflicting rather than co-operative (Chi-square = 6.72, $p < .01$), nevertheless appears in significantly more stories than in the previous year as a co-operative figure (Chi-square = 10.95, $p < .001$) and tends to be given this role by more boys (not significant, Chi-square = 2.34, $.2 > p > .1$). The teacher however, is still cast by the E class boys in the role of hero's antagonist (12 subjects) or else his role is not revealed as either antagonistic or co-operative (5 subjects). Not one boy lets him star as a co-operative adult.

Incidental references to co-operation and conflict are relatively fewer than in the previous year and do nothing to modify the picture given by the themes. The 10 strong references to conflict enhance the concept of the parent as impatient and intolerant and of the other-adult as

punitive; the 14 references to co-operation refer mostly to supportive behaviour such as rescuing, approving, and protecting.

2) Girls:

Few girls, primary or secondary, cast the teacher in a co-operative role, though they do tend to permit him/her this role a little more often than the boys do. But then the girls are altogether more generous in projections of co-operation than the boys: girls in the primary group give 43 themes of co-operation, boys 16 themes; and in the secondary group girls give 29 themes, boys 9 themes.

(1) Grade VI girls. Nineteen Grade VI girls (School A 5, School B 14) tell stories of co-operative situations between parent and child. This co-operative relationship is most frequent in response to Cards X (10 themes), IV (9 themes) and II (5 themes), although in Card II no adult figure is presented and has to be introduced spontaneously by the subject. The doll in Card IV and the book in Card X most probably arouse associations with play and school work respectively, and these two activities constitute the two chief situations for parent-child co-operation. Nevertheless the subjects

introduce a variety of other situations in which there is co-operation, such as the child sharing with the parent(s) in domestic activities, and parents providing physical care:-

	School A	School B
play activities	1	5
domestic activities	4	1
school work	2	7
physical care	4	2
deprivational situations	-	2
approval, affection	2	1
other	1	3

Mother and father share equally in the number of themes of co-operation and in the numbers of subjects projecting them as co-operative. That is, father and mother figure in 17 themes of co-operation; 7 subjects present a co-operative relationship between child and father only, 5 between child and mother only, 7 between child and both parents only.

Since the adult figure on Card X is male, co-operative situations on this card focus on the father. He is otherwise introduced on only 7 occasions, 4 in stories for Card II where the boy and girl are seen as helping their

father on the farm and 2 in stories for Card VIII where he is an approving, reassuring figure. Similarly the mother's role as a co-operative adult occurs most frequently in relation to Card IV where an appropriate adult female is a stimulus figure. But she is also projected as co-operative 9 other times, 6 of them in relation to cards which present no adult female figure.

However in the incidental references it is the mother, not the father, who is more frequently given the co-operative role, though the father in his fewer appearances gives his co-operation in the same areas as the mother:

	Mother	Father	Teacher
physical care	5	-	1
social support	5	1	-
deprivation situations	5	1	-
physical danger	4	3	-
leisure activities	2	2	-
school work	2	1	4
affection approval	2	2	-
other	2	-	1

This readiness to project the mother rather than the father as the supporter and confidante is more obvious when

one considers the incidental references to only those cards which have no adult figure or which have adult figures of both sexes so presenting a choice of parent identifications. On these cards 10 girls make incidental references to the co-operation of the mother only, 5 to both parents, and only one subject to the father only; they postulate 20 instances of maternal co-operation to only 7 of paternal co-operation.

The teacher's co-operation, limited in projection as it is, is confined to school situations, and with the exception of a few stories, one about discipline and one about an error in attendance, is concerned with giving help in school work.

The reaction of the hero, when stated, to the co-operation of either parent or teacher, is usually of the success-story type. The hero, inspired by co-operation, "improves in her work", "develops an enthusiastic attitude to a formerly disliked subject", "becomes happy", "succeeds", "feels much better", "takes the teacher some flowers", and so on.

(11) E class girls: Perhaps the most interesting thing is the stability of the parent and teacher roles presented in the authority-adult to child situations. The teacher over the 2 testings remains the adult in conflict

with the child, the parent remains the adult in co-operation, with no significant change in the percentage of subjects attributing these roles to them. (Only one subject shows any noticeable change in the adult-child relationship. From projecting themes of co-operation in relation to both teacher and parent in Grade VI she changes to projecting no adult co-operation either by theme or by incidental reference in E class.) From the E class subjects, the mother figures in a slightly smaller proportion of co-operation themes (not statistically significant), and is identified as the sole co-operative adult by a rather smaller percentage of subjects, than in the previous year. She appears in only 9 of the 23 theme stories: 7 of the 14 subjects giving stories of co-operation project the father as the sole co-operative adult, 5 project both parents as co-operative, and only 2 project the mother as the sole co-operative adult. However in incidental references the mother scores, as in the previous year, more highly than the father: there are two references to the mother as co-operative for every one to the father as co-operative.

The chief areas of parental co-operation as projected by E class girls in their themes are:-

school work
 physical danger
 deprivation situations
 affection, approval
 leisure activities and interests

As before it must be remembered that the structure of Card X can be expected to influence strongly the projection of the father as helpful or interested in school work. Apart from this expected concentration there is little to indicate that the parent's co-operation is limited to any highly specific areas. But the fact that the father alone is described as showing approval or affection (6 subjects : 8 themes) provokes such questions as: Is paternal affection valued and sought after more than the mother's? Is the mother's affection so taken for granted that it is not necessary to mention it? Is paternal affection more desired by maturer girls (as represented by the E class group who mention it 8 times) than by less mature girls (represented by the same girls in Grade VI when they mention it only twice).

The desirability and appreciation of co-operative relationship between parent and child is reflected in the outcome of the stories. Whenever the effects on the hero of a co-operative parent-child relationship are stated, it is a "good" outcome, the hero succeeds, earns approval, is happy.

B. Non-authority Relationships

More often these are relationships between the hero and his peers, but there are also two other types of interaction. One is the interaction between the hero and society in general or some vague and unspecified part of it - that nebulous social body often designated in everyday conversation as "they." The other is the interaction between family members, usually in reference to Card I, where any hierarchy of authority in the group seems to be ignored and the members are regarded as constituting a roughly egalitarian group.

A glance at the analysis of themes used in HPST (Appendix IV, Tables, 99, 100) suggests some differences in the pattern of responses for the two sexes.

a. Sex Differences in Response-patterns

- 1) The stories given by the two sexes are

proportioned differently over the categories of themes.

TABLE 62

Distributions of Themes

Themes		Authority		Non-authority		Pers. Ad.		Phys. Ad.	
Subjects		Conflict	Co-op.	Conflict	Co-op.	Inad. Adeq.	Inad.	Adeq.	
Grade VI	Boys	70	17	35	57	34	14	12	8
	Girls	50	38	20	87	48	18	17	3
E Class	Boys	41	9	27	39	29	10	5	1
	Girls	24	27	20	47	41	9	8	8

For Grade VI Chi-square = 25.88, df = 7, $p < .001$.

For E class Chi-square = 22.25, df = 7, $p < .01$.

2) Within the combined areas of authority and non-authority the girls project significantly more themes of co-operation than of conflict, and the boys vice versa.

TABLE 63

Authority and Non-authority Themes

Subjects		Themes of:		Chi-square	p
		Conflict	Co-operation		
Grade VI	Boys	105	74	18.88	< .001
	Girls	70	126		
E Class	Boys	68	48	9.98	< .01
	Girls	44	71		

3) Boys in Grade VI express more feelings of aggression than do Grade VI girls (see below).

	Boys	Girls
Grade VI	21	4
E Class	12	7

But 4) In non-authority relationships alone, for both sexes, the numbers of themes of co-operation far exceeds the combined numbers of themes for antagonism, competition, conflict. Even excluding the responses to Card I which tends to elicit a stereotype description or some unelaborated reference to the family being together (co-operation), this imbalance remains significant.

	Antagonism	Co-operation (all cards)	Co-operation (Card I excl.)
Grade VI boys	14	57	41
Grade VI girls	16	58	44
E Class boys	14	39	31
E Class girls	13	44	35

5) Child figures on the cards are consistently more often identified by both sexes as non-siblings than as siblings.

	Non-sibling peers	Sibling
Grade VI boys	23	9
Grade VI girls	34	16
E class boys	23	2
E class girls	23	3

b. Aggression and Antagonism

1) Boys

Themes in these categories are found in the protocols of 15 of the 26 Grade VI boys (58 per cent) and 14 of the 17 E class boys (82 per cent). (Frequency of aggressive feelings will be indicated later in the section Analysis of Feelings where they will be shown to occur with greater frequency with the E class boys.) As the basic theme for a whole story, aggression is more characteristic of boys than of girls. It is expressed by them chiefly towards persons not of the peer group, and never towards siblings.

(1) Grade VI boys: The aggression of the primary boys' heroes is directed most often towards society at large and with little attempt to justify or rationalize it. Nine subjects (School A 5, School B 4), exhibit aggression in this fashion, 7 of them fantasizing about theft and 2 fantasizing about the infliction of bodily harm.

There is very little occurrence of physical aggression between peers. Only 3 boys create heroes who attack their peers and one other has a hero who is the victim of unprovoked peer aggression. Aggression in this relationship takes the form of bodily attack and causing bodily harm.

In stories which have an adult-to-child relationship the heroes are as often the aggressors as the aggressed-against. This arises from a chain-reaction type of story where aggression produces aggression. In 14 of the 15 stories of hero aggression there is this pattern of a double chain of hostility in which the ultimate outcome is not given or ranges between further aggression and the reform of the hero.

Cards eliciting the most occasions of aggression are:-

Card	No. of subjects
III	3
IV	3
VI	2
X	2
XI	6

Antagonism - that is, opposition or feelings of hostility without physical aggression but always with a

sense of unresolved tension - is expressed, with one exception, only by School B boys (7 subjects) and, again with one exception, is directed towards peers of the opposite sex. It occurs in association with Card II (4 themes), Card VI (4 themes), and Cards I and X (1 theme each).

Card VI provokes stories primarily initially of competitiveness. Most often (11 subjects) these result in a general sharing and a co-operativeness (see discussion on Co-operation, p. 520 ff), but in the 4 stories where the characters are depicted as antagonistic, the boys defeat the girls leaving the girls "jealous," "unhappy," and able only once to make a comeback in the next game.

Card II similarly induces more stories of co-operation, (8) than of antagonism (4), but where the boy and the girl are seen as antagonistic the boy is again projected as the dominating character who is "telling her off," "being stern," "disliking," or "angry," with the girl. The girl responds on the first three occasions with "guilt," "embarrassment," and "dislike," but in the last story she finally dominates the boy-hero who then rationalizes his acquiescence. In the main in these situations of antagonism

the female is presented as inferior or subject to the male.

(11) E Class boys: A greater (though not significantly greater - $.2 > p > .1$) proportion of the boys in E class in comparison with the previous year, create themes of aggression and antagonism for their heroes in non-authority relationships, namely 14 out of 17 in E class (82 per cent) compared with 15 out of 26 in Grade VI (58 per cent). These 14 boys produce 11 themes of antagonism and 12 of aggression.

Aggression is again directed towards society (4 subjects, 5 themes) in the form of breaking and stealing property, and to a lesser extent against peers (3 subjects, 3 themes), in the form of physical violence and bodily harm; but it is only in the aggressive behaviour towards society that one finds the "tit-for-tat" pattern of Grade VI in which violence provokes retaliatory violence.

There is a trend towards a higher incidence than in the previous year of projection of antagonistic and conflicting situations between male peers. The highest incidence is in the blank card, in association with skill and fair play in games, and with "dislike" whose origin is not given. Opposite sex antagonism and aggression are

confined to stories for Card II and Card VI. In stories for the latter these feelings arise in the course of the struggle for success in competition. In the stories for Card II they result from a sense of insecurity between the sexes: the boy-hero asks the girl something (undefined) and the girl responds in a "denying" fashion by "refusing," "showing embarrassment," "running away," "feeling guilty,"

There are no themes of aggression or antagonism between siblings.

2) Girls

In contrast to the boys, the girls in their non-authority relationships produce fewer themes of aggression and antagonism and rather more themes of competition. Only 8 of the Grade VI and 6 of the E class girls produce stories in which there is any marked ill-feeling between the sexes.

(1) Grade VI girls: The hostile themes appear most often in response to Cards II and VI. They do not, though, as one might expect, occur with Card IV in spite of the opportunity it offers to exhibit hostility to a new sibling.

Three subjects project antipathetic themes in stories

to Card II because they see the situation as an intimate one in which the boy is the aggressor and the girl is angry and ultimately triumphs over the boy. The themes of conflict and antagonism given to Card VI arise from matters of social ethics such as the conduct and scoring of the games (cheating), the poor sportsmanship of the loser, and the rejection by peers of those who exhibit such unacceptable moral codes. Repentance and reconciliation between the members of the group are postulated in only one of 9 stories where such transgressions of social ethics occur.

Though these stories of opposition between peers are few they, like the boys' stories of aggression, have a lively quality. One feels that the subjects really know and appreciate the feelings that their heroes exhibit.

(11) E Class girls: In the stories of the E class girls there is a small outcrop of hostile themes in response to Card II where the boy is seen as unsympathetic and the girl as distressed. These strained relationships, when existing between non-siblings (3 subjects), are succeeded by a show of sorrow or remorse and resolved into a sharing, not a challenging, situation. In all the stories

where the characters are projected as siblings who are hostile or antagonistic the hostility is sustained and unresolved.

c. Co-operation

1) Boys

(i) Grade VI boys: Only 15 subjects are involved. Whereas most of the stories of antagonism, aggression and conflict present the whole chain of events from conception to outcome, the stories of co-operation tend simply to state rather than to work out the theme.

Cards II, III, VI, and VII best lend themselves, by their structure, to the projection of peer relationships.

For Card II which presents a boy and a girl in a one-to-one relationship, 7 subjects produce themes of opposite-sex co-operation - 3 of co-operation between siblings, 4 of boy-and-girl-friend co-operation. Leisure activities are the framework of the situation in 5 stories, and the rescue of the girl furnishes the situation for the remaining 2 stories (the 2 rescue stories are re-hashed from Gene Stratton Porter's Freckles, in one case admittedly borrowed, in the other, not).

In all 4 boy-meets-girl stories the boy's role is

constant and well-defined. He is chivalrous and makes the overtures. The reactions of the girls are inconstant and discrepant. One exhibits pity and love, one is friendly and co-operative, one is proud of the hero's efforts, and one is capricious and ashamed. The boy-girl pair relationship seems to evoke vivid emotions and associations.

Card VI introduces a heterosexual group and this seems either less motivating or more difficult for the boys to handle as a co-operative situation. The best they do is an emotionally-colourless near-description. They present the characters as functioning together without hostility, even in two instances as helping one another with advice, but only 3 subjects endow the group with emotional life seeing it as "interested", "happy" and "enjoying" the activity. Nor can one say that the male is presented as dominating the group situation. Four subjects do make their male hero win the game but 3 give wins equally to both sexes, one to a girl only, and 3 refuse to commit themselves as to the outcome of the game. It seems as though the details and logical events of the story elude them. In the stories of aggression and antagonism one feels the subject is calling on a world of experiences with which he is familiar,

experiences he has been building up throughout later childhood, such as his awareness of the strength of peers when they combine against the adult (as is played out so much in the "gang" years), and the tradition of avoidance and disparagement of female peers. But the developing relationships within a heterosexual group are unfamiliar and require adjustments which, according to such psychologists as G. S. Hall, are radical enough to make this stage of development a period of "sturm and drang". So it is to be expected that projections of the complex interwoven relationships and reactions of a heterosexual group might be difficult and exhibit less freedom, less concurrence amongst subjects, less clarity of ideas, less statement of outcome.

Card VII is seen as depicting 4 boys, usually not siblings, and is poorly evocative of projective material. Almost half the subjects give merely a description of its pictorial content. Even in the 5 stories which contain the idea of some slight but active co-operation between peers, the characters are shadowy and the story lacks a goal or climax. And Card III, in spite of its apparent possibilities for themes of co-operation, has even more subjects resorting to description and only 2 tell of a group united around a hero.

So projection of same-sex co-operation also seems to be less intense, less vivid, less emotionally toned than that of aggression or that of the boy-girl pair. Perhaps it is because boy-boy co-operation is so much a part of the established pattern of life that these relationships lack vivid expression: they are statements of an even tenor of life which needs no elaboration and provokes no peak of feeling. Since the need for this sort of companionship is satisfied in real life, there is, as Lazarus (1961, p. 66) suggests, no compulsion to satisfy it through fantasy.

(ii) Secondary boys: Every boy in the group gives at least one theme of peer co-operation, a significant increase in proportion of subjects on the preceding year.

On Card II (7 subjects) the situation is primarily the boy-meets-girl type (6 stories) with, in 5 stories, the two planning or enjoying a date, and in one story, the boy helping the girl in distress. (One subject gives a sibling story.) Sex roles and the emotional components of these stories are clearly stated. The secondary school boy depicts a male hero who is the leader and wooer. It is he who asks for or plans the date, who is pleased when

the girl accepts, who is anxious when their plans are threatened with collapse, whose feelings are described, who protects the girl in distress. The girl has the hallmarks of the sexually-aware female - she "blushes" at the boy's invitation, is "sad" when the date finishes, is happy when he helps her, shares his anxiety and reciprocates his affection.

On subjective estimate, these stories are more openly sexual than in the previous year. They are more obviously "mating" stories, there is no camouflage of the Freckles variety, the emotions have more depth and the girl's role is now shown as more stable and sympathetic with the boy's.

The stories for the heterosexual group on Card VI in which the children are playing or watching chess or some similar game, are characterized by an equality between the two sexes. Winning in itself is not treated as important, and only on one occasion is the winner specifically stated - a girl. However the process of sharing is emphasized. For example, the children take turns to play and to win, the watchers give their approval equally to the two players, the whole group of players and non-players is happy or excited, the non-players encourage both the players. These stories

"feel" a great deal more positive and alive than those of the Grade VI year. It is as though most of the male subjects have come much more to terms with themselves as members of a heterosexual group, are able to function more spontaneously and comfortably in it, and in co-operating with the girls in a common, impersonal task, are able to behave relatively a-sexually, that is, without either antagonism or "courting" behaviour.

As in Grade VI, themes of boy-boy co-operation are given infrequently and lack depth.

2) Girls

(1) Grade VI girls: Compared with their stories of opposition and conflict, many of the stories of co-operation given by Grade VI girls seem relatively colourless, superficial and inconclusive. This is especially true of stories about siblings. The non-sibling stories are usually drawn in with a bit more detail.

Since the girls more frequently than the boys identify the pictured characters as siblings, the co-operative relationships are discussed for four different settings:-

between siblings as a pair

between non-siblings as a pair

between siblings in a group

between non-siblings in a group

To neither sibling, male or female, in a pair situation (7 subjects) is there given a definite role or a dominant feeling-tone, and most outcomes remain vague and inconclusive. "They are having fun" is the most extravagant emotion admitted.

In group situations (12 subjects) siblings tend to come alive a little more. Older siblings are protective of younger ones; the group as a whole is competent to look after itself; where competition is included, boys beat girls, emotional responsiveness ranging from rebuff to repentance, to "having fun" and "being glad" is readily expressed (9 subjects).

Non-siblings whether in pairs or groups have fairly clear roles or relationships though these vary from subject to subject. In the mixed-pair (4 subjects) the boy is the initiator or the "strong" figure, the girl has the more dependent role. In a mixed group, usually in response to Card VI, (10 subjects) leadership does not seem to be important. Any one of the group may advise or initiate the game, but if victory is stated it goes to the boy, though

all the children are repeatedly seen as thoroughly happy and enjoying themselves. Non-siblings of the same sex (5 subjects) have a quiet and sympathetic relationship.

(11) Secondary girls: Only a minority of subjects (5) projects on to any of the stimulus figures a sibling role. Of these, 3 give superficial, non-committal stories of siblings in a co-operative situation - walking, playing together - but with no indication of intensity of feeling or closeness of relationship between them. The other 2 subjects present the male as protective and capable, the female as inexperienced, easily upset and needing a brother's care.

The heterosexual-pair stimulus on Card II gives rise to two neatly antithetical projections. There is the distressed female plus unsympathetic male situation, occurring, with both sibling and non-sibling identifications, 5 times (see Section on "Conflict Themes, p. 519) and the distressed female plus sympathetic supportive male, also given for both siblings and non-siblings, occurring 7 times. This suggests a group definitely divided in its expectation of the attitude and behaviour of the male peer towards the female in close personal association. This ambivalence of

the subjects does not appear to be associated with any of the variables CA, MA, or IQ, since, when the group is split for these variables, there is no significant difference between the numbers of subjects from the upper and the lower halves in their expression of unsympathetic or sympathetic attitudes.

In the responses to Card VI picturing the heterosexual peer group, though themes of co-operation are too few for definite conclusions, it is at least interesting to see that in contrast to the previous year each of the 4 subjects who gives the outcome of the competition makes the girl the winner.

Though no subjects present peers of the same sex as being in opposition, neither do the 5 subjects who present them as co-operative do more than briefly indicate they are supportive or protective each to the other.

d. Brief general note on non-authority relationships:

In the non-authority themes the girls' stories come ^{alive} and reveal most emotion, role-expectation and detail of relationship when the projection is concerned with a boy-girl peer association, and more especially when the association is an "accepting" one. The boys' stories

tend, in general, to "give less away" than the girls' but are apt to follow-through with most detail when they are concerned with some form of opposition or aggression, especially when this is between the hero and society in general. Comfortable, constructive participation in heterosexual groups seems to come at different educational levels for boys and girls. For both sexes the group situation appears to be less sexually disturbing than the pair situation.

In view of apparent sex differences in reaction to hetero-sexual situations, relationships between boys and girls are an important consideration in educational planning where almost all State schools and some Independent schools are co-educational. Are co-educational schools or classes comfortable learning situations at this age? Can boys and girls be expected to work together harmoniously and efficiently on a common school project in either Grade VI or E class? The MPST stories suggest:-

In Grade VI the boys seem happiest to treat the hetero-sexual group as an arena for competition: when they are simply competing they are comfortable. Without the excuse of competition they seem to be at a loss to understand

either their own role, the inter-relationships within the group, or the possible course of events for the group. The Grade VI girls are able to work comfortably with the boys but appear to have definite and strict ethical codes to which they feel the group members should uncompromisingly conform. In view of the fact that the boys appear much less concerned about ethically correct behaviour - for example they seem fascinated by idea of committing theft and truancy - there are grounds for conflict and difficulty between the sexes.

In the secondary school the reactions to the opposite sex seem to have become "pepped up" with both boys and girls. B class boys show a little more definite hostility to girls and relatively a lot more active "boy-meets-girl" feeling. They are responsive to "mixed-pair" situations which could be, therefore, rather distracting and adversely over-stimulating as learning situations. In a group, however, they are animated, able to share, and comfortable with the girls. Secondary girls, on the contrary, seem relatively more interested in the heterosexual pair and less interested in the heterosexual group situation. Their attitudes to and expectations of the boys fall into two

opposite categories; some see boys as helpful, others as unsympathetic and possibly antagonistic. Furthermore, the girls are much more keen to win and be "top dog" in the group than they were in Grade VI.

() Various ^{Suppositions} ~~conclusions~~ can therefore be hypothesized. X

(1) Where a heterosexual group is supportive and stimulating, it should help the learning process. It is therefore probably a good educational situation for Grade VI girls and E class boys, and possibly for Grade VI boys since little other than competitive association is required of boys and girls at that level.

(2) However, Grade VI girls and boys expect the boy to win or to be the status-holder in the group. If this means that the female in the heterosexual group sees herself as having to be less successful than the boy, heterosexual group tasks could have a depressant effect on female levels of achievement in both Grade VI and E class.

(3) The rather more intense attitude of the E class girl to heterosexual relationships suggests that class-activities in which individual students are singled out or have to participate in emotion-revealing situations in front of a heterosexual audience, for example, as in dramatics, may prove emotionally disruptive.

(4) If, however, this acceptance of inferior status to the boy is merely a transitory element of the girl's self-concept, and time to make a reassessment of herself and her capabilities in the secondary school is all that is needed, then it might be better if the girls did not have to be in co-educational classes for more emotionally-loaded subjects in the first year or two of their secondary education.

III. Summary of the Self-pictures and the Phenomenological Fields as indicated in Response to the MPST

(1) Primary Boys

(1) Personal Adequacy:

- (a) There is some ambivalence here. The overt assumption is of physical inadequacy but there is a strong underlying sense of adequacy.
- (b) Intellectual adequacy is not a matter of concern; little interest in vocational choice and success is suggested.

(2) Social and Family Relationships : Authority Situations:

- (a) Adults in authority are in conflict with children.
(There are four times as many presentations of adult-child conflict as of adult-child co-operation

in the case of authority adults.)

- (b) Teachers are usually in conflict with pupils.
- (c) Classroom discipline causes most conflict with teachers: stealing causes most conflict with adults in authority outside the school.
- (d) Teachers are hostile, unforgiving and prone to use physical punishment.
- (e) Fathers exerting their authority seldom see eye-to-eye with their sons, and usually punish by deprivation of privileges.
- (f) There is some internalisation of hero reactions, but violence on the part of the adult tends to provoke retaliatory violence from the hero.

(3) Social and Family Relationships : Non-authority Situations:

- (a) There is considerably more co-operation in this area than in authority situations, but conflict is still noticeable, e.g. unprovoked aggression against society such as stealing, violence.
- (b) Peers of the opposite sex more often provoke expressions of sharing and helping than of unresolved opposition, but lack of detail in the stories suggests that the subjects are working with relatively unfamiliar concepts.

(11) Secondary Boys

(1) Personal Adequacy:

(a) Personal physical adequacy is low - lower than for primary boys - and underlying confidence is missing. Adequacy can be attained only by great effort.

(b) Intellectual adequacy, though not a widespread concern, gets more attention than from primary boys, and intellectual achievement is associated with more expression of unpleasantness.

Vocational success is still of little interest.

(c) Adequacy as measured by material possessions is assuming some importance.

(2) Social and Family Relationships : Authority Situations:

(a) Adults in authority are more often antagonistic than co-operative. (Four times as many themes of conflict as of co-operation in this area.)

(b) Disobedience and aggression are the chief causes of conflict between teacher and child; delinquency (e.g. stealing) produces conflict with outside authorities.

(3) Social and Family Relationships : Non-authority Situations:

- (a) There is a definite increase in the expression of co-operation with peers of the opposite sex, and a tone of equality between the sexes in competitive situations.

(iii) Primary Girls

(1) Personal Adequacy:

- (a) The emphasis is on inadequacy; often associated with fortuitous deprivation and with inner states of discomfort such as shyness, fear.
- (b) Intellectual inadequacy (lack of ability or attainment) frequently features; there is dissatisfaction and difficulty with school work.
- (c) The hero is put into situations of dependency on the parent (usually the mother) but doubt is expressed of the parent's capacity to help appropriately and efficiently.

(2) Social and Family Relationships : Authority Situations:

- (a) Adults having authority are more often in conflict with the child, than co-operative.
- (b) The teacher is the most unco-operative adult and when not actively evincing hostility, he/she is

detached or restrictive.

- (c) Parents are relatively co-operative.
- (d) Authority figures from outside the home and the school are seldom introduced; (girls are possibly less concerned than boys with society beyond home and school).
- (e) The child's reactions to the teacher are strongly in the direction of defiance and deception. There seems to be an implied wish for corporal punishment as expiation.
- (c) Social and Family Relationships : Non-authority Situations:
 - (a) Co-operation among the participants in non-authority situations is overwhelmingly more frequent than conflict.
 - (b) Participants (non-adult) are more often identified as peers than siblings. Leadership within a group of peers may be given to either sex; success in competition is attributed by the majority to the male.

(iv) Secondary Girls

- (1) Personal Adequacy:
 - (a) The emphasis is on inadequacy.

- (b) School-work, deprivation (especially separation from parents, sometimes from a loved object - such as a doll which may symbolise childhood or siblings) and loneliness are given frequently as situations of inadequacy.
- (c) In deprivation situations the hero tends to be passive and ineffectual; assistance proffered by an adult is regarded with tolerance, even appreciation, but usually proves inadequate.

(2) Social and Family Relationships : Authority Situations:

- (a) Adults in authority are still very much in conflict with the child, but there is a tendency to see authority-adults as more co-operative than primary girls did.
- (b) The teacher is far more hostile than the parent.
- (c) Authority figures outside the home and school are not introduced.
- (d) Heroes are slightly less submissive to authority figures than in previous year.

(3) Social and Family Relationships : Non-authority Situations:

- (a) Co-operation figures much more strongly than conflict.

- (b) Situations which deal in isolation with the hero and with one peer of the opposite sex tend to have strong emotional tones (love-hate ambivalence).
- (c) Activities of children in a heterosexual group emphasise sharing.
- (d) Success in competition is not attributed to the male. The female appears to be trying to assert individuality and achieve equality with or superiority to the male in the group.

CHAPTER XIII

Michigan Picture Story Test, Analysis Part II

Hero-effort and success

Feelings

Relationships

Comparisons according to sex and educational level

CHAPTER XIII

The Self-picture According to the MPST

Analysis Part II

In the previous chapter only those stories which illuminated certain aspects of the self-picture, for example interactions with adults in authority, were discussed and inferences were made in terms of those specific areas. In this section all stories are included and inferences are made without regard to specific areas. So it is possible that apparent contradictions may occur. For example in his reactions to adults in authority, including his mother, a hero may behave hostilely, whereas the sum of all his reactions to his mother in her many and varied roles may be predominantly submissive. Such limitations on behaviour imposed by specific situations, or modifications induced by changes in role, are not the matter for the present analysis. However it is, of course, because such differences in situations and role occur that a child may be characterised by one person as, say, aggressive

and unco-operative and by another as quiet and amenable.

I. Hero-effort and Success

In the preceding analysis the proclivity of the hero to bluster or to win through, to behave apathetically or to submit, and so on, has been mentioned in general terms and almost exclusively in relation to the themes of personal adequacy. Some attempt is now made to bring this aspect down to earth by following Pine's example (1951) and assessing arbitrarily the effort and success of the hero over the whole of each story on a 5-point scale rated 0 to 4 along a passive-active failure-success continuum. The points of the scale may be defined in general terms as follows:

- | | | |
|---|---|---------------------------------------|
| 0 | hero entirely passive or apathetic; no response | } Hero
effort
weak |
| 1 | hero registers some reaction, such as shame but takes no action | |
| 2 | action taken but it is ineffective or without defined outcome | } Hero
exerts
average
effort |
| 3 | positive appropriate action taken with moderate effectiveness | |
| 4 | positive, even vigorous, action taken with considerable effectiveness | } Hero
effort
strong |

A blustering hero, then, whose initial effort and activity fizzles out into small accomplishment would be rated only 2 points. One must remember too that in spite of vigorous positive effort efficiently applied it is still possible for the weight of circumstances in the situation to lead to ultimate failure of the hero.

Heroes of all the stories, regardless of the theme-category, have been so rated. When this full range of projections is considered the heroes appear as more effortful and successful than they did in those stories alone whose themes were in the "personal adequacy" category.

In Grade VI many of the boys' heroes exhibit a pattern of tending to be at first aggressive but finally subsiding into unsuccessful modes of behaviour or weak states of head-hanging sorrow or submissiveness. Fewer of their heroes show a sufficient capacity for positive behaviour and sustained character strength throughout an entire story to merit more than 2 points. The scales appear to be loaded on the side of passivity for Grade VI boys' heroes.

This is not true for the Grade VI girls whose heroes

TABLE 64
Hero-strength

Group	School	Total * No. of heroes	Hero-strength rating		
			Below 2 pts.	2 pts.	Above 2 pts.
Grade VI	Girls A	62	13	24	25
	B	146	48	59	39
	Total	208	61	83	64
Grade VI	Boys A	93	36	20	37
	B	100	48	31	21
	Total	193	84	51	58
E Class	Girls A	44	12	18	14
	B	82	31	23	28
	Total	126	43	41	42
	Boys A	49	18	14	17
	B	67	30	25	14
	Total	116	48	37	31

* Not all stories have heroes; they may be simply descriptive.

fall more evenly into the three ranks of "average", "below average", and "above-average" in effort and success.

From Table 64 it is apparent that:

- (1) Grade VI and E class boys' distributions of heroes according to hero-strength follow a similar pattern (Chi-square = 1.2; $p > .50$; no significant difference.)
- (2) For the male groups the proportion of "weak" heroes is significantly greater than the proportion of strong heroes.
- (3) Grade VI and E class girls' distributions of heroes according to hero strength follow a similar pattern ($p = .5$).
- (4) For the female groups the heroes are distributed relatively evenly over the three categories of weak, average, strong. (Primary girls, $p > .1$; Secondary girls, $p > .9$.)
- (5) The Grade VI girls have relatively fewer "weak" heroes and more "average" heroes than the boys. (For "weak" heroes; Chi-square = 8.1, $p < .01$; for average heroes; Chi-square = 7.58, $p < .01$.)
- (6) The distribution of secondary girls and secondary boys are more comparable ($p > .05$), though there is still a strong tendency for the boys to create a higher proportion of "weak" than of "average" or "strong" heroes.

To some degree the outcomes of the stories indicate,

in the amount of the success achieved by the hero, the hero's strength, and to some degree they indicate the hero's (and hence the subject's) attitude to life - optimistic, puzzled, pessimistic - since the hero is not always seen as the arbiter of his own fate. Outcomes are rated as "favourable", "unfavourable", and "indeterminate", and the outcomes of all stories have been so categorised except for the purely descriptive responses which are, in fact, not stories and have no outcomes.

All groups are comparable in the degree of conclusiveness and the general manner in which they see the projected situations being resolved.

There is no over-riding type of outcome, neither clear-cut expectation of "happiness-ever-after" (favourable outcomes are less than 50 per cent for all groups except for primary girls), nor even of a foregone conclusion to a situation (indeterminate outcomes are approximately 40 per cent for each group). However, unfavourable outcomes are consistently in the considerable minority suggesting that in spite of quite heavy loadings of destructive feelings and relationships the subjects are not despairing though they may be puzzled and uncertain about the outcome. The heroes are not presented as being

TABLE 65
Outcomes of Stories

Group	Outcome			Totals	
	Favourable	Indeterminate	Unfavourable		
Girls	Grade VI	108	83	21	212
		51%	39%	10%	
	E Class	60	52	23	135
		44%	39%	17%	
Boys	Grade VI	96	92	35	223
		43%	41%	16%	
	E Class	41	52	24	117
		35%	44%	21%	

Chi-square for Outcomes of Stories:

Comparison	Chi-square	p (not significant)
primary boys : primary girls	4.409	.10 not significant
secondary boys : secondary girls	2.2	.30 not significant
primary boys : secondary boys	2.46	.30 not significant
primary girls : secondary girls	4.55	.10 not significant

strong enough or omniscient enough to win through in any situation - that is an expectation that belongs to an earlier stage of childhood - but they do fall into a nice balance between successful coping and "waiting-to-see", a fair representation surely of the view of life of the subject himself at this stage of development and this period of transition from one educational set-up to another, with the consequent novelty and readjustment required.

II. Feelings

Just as hero-strength was previously touched-on (Chapter XII) only in general terms and almost solely in relation to themes of personal adequacy, so also feelings and interpersonal relationships were treated almost solely in relation to situations of conflict and co-operation with adults-in-authority. It is proposed now to look at the total field of the subjects' stories to see what feelings emerge, how frequently they occur, and within what situations and relationships.

(a) Explanation of Some Feeling-terms used

Aggression includes physical violence on the part of the subject such as hitting, breaking, destroying, killing, and psychological attack as in cheating.

Conflict includes competition (not necessarily hostile), conflict as in differences of opinion and goals, and opposition.

Anxiety includes also "fear", "worry".

Frustration includes being lost.

Guilt includes "shame", "sorrow", "repentance".

Inferiority includes any expression of inadequacy such as shyness, physical handicap, failure.

Pain may be physical as in sickness, or may be emotional as distress, sadness, unhappiness or some other state of un-pleasure.

Pleasure includes happiness, pride in or praise of subject, success (but not as the outcome of competition for which see "superiority").

Superiority includes superiority, success in general and as the outcome of competition.

Succorance includes both the demand for and the giving of help and nurturance (whether implied or stated).

(b) The Analysis

The five most frequently expressed feelings (see Table 66) are, with one exception, identical for all four groups of subjects, namely succorance, compulsion, hostility, pain/distress and pleasure/success.

TABLE 66
Chief Feelings Expressed by Heroes

Feeling	Primary Girls N=26						Primary Boys N=26						Secondary Girls N=17						Secondary Boys N=17					
	Absolute No. of responses	% of total responses	Rank order	No. of subjects using	Rank order for subjects		Absolute no. of responses	% of total responses	Rank order	No. of subjects using	Rank order for subjects		Absolute no. of responses	% of total responses	Rank order	No. of subjects using	Rank order for subjects		Absolute no. of responses	% of total responses	Rank order	No. of subjects using	Rank order for subjects	
Hostility	51	9.03	2	20	7		86	13.09	1	26	1		48	11.54	1	14	2		44	11.86	1	16	4	
Succorance	67	11.9	1	26	1		61	9.28	2	24	2		48	11.54	1	17	1		28	7.55	4	17	1	
Compulsion	51	9.03	2	24	2		58	8.83	3	21	4		34	8.17	3	14	2		37	9.97	3	17	1	
Pain-distress	46	8.14	5	22	5		51	7.76	4	24	2		29	6.97	4	14	2		28	7.55	4	15	5	
Pleasure-success	47	8.32	4	20	7		46	7.00	5	17	10		28	6.73	5	12	8		25	6.74	6	12	9	
Aggression	26	4.60	9	14	12		44	6.70	6	17	10		24	5.77	8	9	14		41	11.05	2	15	5	
Conflict-competition	41	7.26	6	24	2		33	5.02	8	20	6		18	4.33	10	13	7		24	6.47	7	17	1	
Frustration	29	5.13	8	16	9		40	6.09	7	19	7		24	5.77	8	12	8		19	5.12	9	12	9	
Inferiority	37	6.55	7	21	6		26	3.96	12	17	10		28	6.73	5	14	2		8			6		
Anxiety	26	4.60	9	24	2		29	4.41	9	17	10		11			9	12		24	6.47	7	13	7	
Guilt	10			6			29	4.41	9	21	4		17			8			16	4.31	10	13	7	
Escape-avoidance	11			9			27	4.11	11	19	7		6			5			3			2		
Effort	25	4.42	11	16	9		13			9			27	6.49	7	14	2		10			8	13	
Rejection	25	4.42	11	13	13		14	1.67	16	11			18	4.33	10	10	11		14	3.77	11	11	11	
Superiority	24	4.25	13	15	11		24	3.65	13	18	9		14	3.37	12	12	8		13			11	11	
Affection	17	3.01	14	12			11			5			14	3.37	12	9	12		7			5		

(Table continued on next page)

TABLE 66 (cont.)

Feeling	Primary Girls N=26					Primary Boys N=26					Secondary Girls N=17					Secondary Boys N=17				
	Absolute no. of responses	% of total responses	Rank order	No. of subjects using	Rank order for subjects	Absolute no. of responses	% of total responses	Rank order	No. of subjects using	Rank order for sub- jects	Absolute no. of responses	% of total responses	Rank order	No. of subjects using	Rank order for subjects	Absolute no. of responses	% of total responses	Rank order	No. of subjects using	Rank order for subjects
Anger	10			10		17	2.59	14	14		8			6		14	3.77	11	8	13
Submission	11			8		17	2.59	14	10		10			6		6			5	
Other	11					31					10					10				
Totals	565					657					416					371				

Kendall Rank order correlation for comparison of the two orders : (i) frequency of times feeling is expressed
(ii) number of subjects expressing the feeling

τ	Ranks 1 - 13	Ranks 1 - 13	Ranks 1 - 13	Ranks 1 - 13
	.527	.473	.543	.658
z	2.507	2.252	2.585	3.129
α	.006 (sig.)	.01 (sig.)	.004 (sig.)	.0009 (sig.)

The one exception occurs with the secondary boys whose heroes make their second highest score on aggression and so drop pleasure/success one place.

The frequency rank-order of the first 6 to 8 feeling-states varies little between the groups, but thereafter the orders for the 4 groups diverge more markedly.

Differences between the groups are perhaps more revealing than are the similarities. The dropping-off in the boys' feelings of "escape-avoidance" in E class compared with Grade VI year and the increase in the percentage of the feelings of aggression suggest that the E class boys are coming more to grips with their world, with consequent increased emotional or superego discomfort (guilt) and heightened sense of rejection (or separation). Girls are consistently higher on feelings of inferiority than the boys - perhaps the result of cultural expectation rather than of lack of physical prowess or strength since at this stage the girls are probably outpacing the boys in physical development. It may be that the acceptance of a role of inferiority reduces tension and leads to the lower level of guilt feelings for the girls.

The differences between the sexes in emphasis on

specific feelings (as shown by comparing percentages for the groups in Table 66) indicates that they have different attitudes to, and make different interpretations of the environment. Grade VI boys are higher on aggression, hostility, escape-avoidance, and guilt than Grade VI girls; the girls are higher on effort, competition, inferiority, rejection and distress. In E class the boys are higher on aggression and anxiety than the girls are; and the girls are higher on effort, inferiority, and succorance. The total number of expressions of the 4 feelings that seem likely to go most strongly with "being at loggerheads with" society, namely hostility, aggression, conflict and anger, constitutes a significantly higher proportion of all expressions of feelings for the secondary boys than for any other group ($p < .05$, for one-tailed test). In comparison with the Grade VI year there is no such up-surge of contrariness to society from the E class girls.

A high frequency of expression of any given feeling does not necessarily mean that the majority of the subjects in the group express this feeling; the score could be boosted by the frequency of its expression by a few subjects. To check for this Kendall's Rank-order Correlation was

applied to frequency of the times the feeling was expressed and frequency of numbers of students expressing the feeling, and a significantly high correlation was found for all groups of subjects (Table 66).

III. Relationships

The relationships between heroes and others are categorised into 3 types: (1) "accepting" relationships which comprise affectional relationships of any sort and acceptance of any sort; (2) "power" relationships in which the other person is shown as being dominant or submissive to hero, and (3) "separating" relationships in which the other person is shown as moving against the hero in some form of hostility - general, verbal, or physical - or as moving the hero away either by separation, indifference or rejection. These 3 categories can be further compressed into 2 major types of relationships. The accepting and power relationships might be seen as positive in which the other person expresses some sort of enveloping relationship - some relationship which binds it to the hero, whereas the separating relationships may be seen as a negative relationship in which the hero is put away from the other person in some way, either by a rejecting hostility or

by the less violent relationship of indifference or even by a situation not of the seeking of the hero or the other person, but which nevertheless divorces them in some way - that is, some fortuitous separation.

Girls

1. Relationships Between Adults and Hero *

(a) Mother-to-hero

Relationships		Positive		Negative	Total
		Accepting	Power	Separating	
Grade VI	N=26	(6+40) 46	(8+2) 10	(16+8) 24	80
E Class	N=17	(2+29) 31	(9+0) 9	(10+2) 12	52

Obviously of these 3 categories "accepting is the dominant one in both years (Grade VI, Chi-square = 24.67, df = 2, $p < .001$; E class, Chi-square = 16.45, df = 2, $p < .001$). That is, the kinds of mother-to-child responses are of all 3 kinds, but it is the "accepting" kind which occurs most often. This pattern holds for both years as there is no significant difference in the distribution of the two groups ($.7 > p > .5$).

* In the following distributions the categories are subdivided to show in brackets:- Accepting: made up of definite affection + simple acceptance. Power: made up of dominance + submission. Separating: made up of hostility (moving against) + moving away (rejection, indifference, separation).

If we take the responses in the 2 major categories of "positive" or "moving towards", and "negative" or "moving against or away", then the "moving towards" category is seen to be more dominant than the "moving away" one. So it appears that the subjects project the relationship extended from the mother to the hero as being typically a "moving towards" relationship and not one of hostility or rejection.

(b) Hero-to-mother

When the reverse point of view is taken, this is, hero-to-mother, the number of responses or relationships extended from, or initiated by, the hero to the mother is considerably less than the number initiated by the mother.

	Positive		Negative	Total
Relationships	Accepting	Power	Separating	
Grade VI N=26	(1+5) 6	(2+10) 12	(6+7) 13	31
E Class N=17	(1+4) 5	(8+2) 10	(2+6) 8	23

The patterns of distribution for the 2 years are again comparable but here the relationships initiated by the hero are divided more evenly over the 3 categories than were the relationships projected as being initiated by the mother. That is, the hero cannot be said to have a dominant type of

relationship with or to the mother (Chi-square goodness of fit, Grade VI = 5.80, $df = 2$, $.2 > p > .1$; E Class = 1.99, $df = 2$, $.5 > p > .3$).

With the relationships combined as before into positive and negative categories the positive relationships tend to exceed the negative. So if the relationship of mother-to-hero and hero-to-mother are thought of as being mutually reactive states then we cannot say that the accepting relationships of the mother call up the expression of similar accepting relationships on the part of the hero. In fact, all we can say is that it would appear that the hero is likely to respond to the mother equally frequently with any one of the 3 types of relationships. The fact that the distributions of the 2 years do not significantly differ - and in so far as the relationships are a projection of the subject's own reactions - suggests that there is no change over this period in the relationships which the subjects see themselves as making to the mother in situations such as those pictured in the test.

However there is one difference between the projected hero-to-mother relationship of Grade VI and E class, and that is in the number of submissive relationships (the second

figure in brackets in the power category). This changes from 10 of the 12 "power" relationships for the Grade VI to 2 of the 10 "power" relationships for E class (Fisher Exact Test, $p < .05$). It would seem that the older girls see the hero as less submissive to the mother and more frequently successful in dominating her.

(c) Father-to-hero

Relationships		Positive		Negative	Total
		Accepting	Power	Separating	
Grade VI	N=26	(5+21) 26	(3+0) 3	(8+9) 17	51
E Class	N=17	(6+16) 22	(2+0) 2	(11+4) 15	39

Again the relationships are spread unevenly over the 3 categories (Chi-square goodness of fit, Grade VI = 9.52, $df = 2$, $p < .02$; E class = 18.01, $df = 2$, $p < .001$), and in a similar pattern at both testings. The conspicuous feature of these distributions is the low number of relationships in the power category. This could be surprising in view of the fact that in our particular culture the father is alleged to be the head of the house, the final court of appeal, the final authority and disciplinarian. In fact he may not really in practice have these roles, and the low "power" frequency suggests that the girl does not see the father as

someone really concerned with her control and discipline.

(Fathers, on the contrary, often seem to have rather "spoiling" attitudes towards their daughters.) He is neither someone to dominate her nor someone whom she must reduce to subjection.

The other two categories of acceptance and separation are fairly evenly balanced. It is interesting to note that with both the mother and the father acceptance is seldom shown as taking the form of actually expressed affection, rather the relationship is simply one of affectional involvement. So while the mother is seen as being predominantly an accepting person, the father is seen as having two rather conflicting roles; in one he is accepting, in the other he is, if not hostile, at least indifferent or in some way remote from the hero.

(d) Hero-to-father

Relationships		Positive		Negative	Total
		Accepting	Power	Separating	
Grade VI	N=26	(3+11) 14	(1+2) 3	(4+4) 8	25
E Class	N=17	(1+2) 3	(0+0) 0	(3+4) 7	10

Relationships expressed as stemming from the hero to the adult, in this case the father, are, as for the mother, relatively few, especially from E class. In this year they

are too few for comparison of frequencies in categories.

The fact that 27 girls between them express 25 hero-to-father relationships in Grade VI compared with 17 expressing only 10 relationships the following year suggests the possibility that the girls are becoming, as they grow older, less responsive to the father. This is supported by the change from the tendency in Grade VI for positive relationships to exceed negative ones, to the tendency in E class for separating relationships to predominate, but the number of relationships expressed in E class is too low for any sound comparable inference to be reasonably drawn.

(e) Other-adult to hero

The third relationship situation to be considered is that of the other-adult to the hero. By other-adults are meant adults, other than the parents, who have, in the story, a direct relationship with the hero. These usually are teachers and relatives outside the immediate family, such as aunts; but they may also include people from the more remote society such as police and even strangers who intervene to influence the hero in some way. That is, relationships between "marginal" characters of the story who do not impinge on the hero are not considered.

Relationships		Positive		Negative	Totals
		Accepting	Power	Separating	
Grade VI	N=26	(1+20) 21	(20+2) 22	(33+0) 33	76
E class	N=17	(0+14) 14	(12+0) 12	(12+5) 17	43

Again, these distributions are similar in both years (Chi-square = .291, $df = 2$, $p > .9$). However, in the case of these other-adults the frequency distribution over the 3 categories is fairly even ($p > .05$ for both years). Although for neither distribution is there a single category of relationships which significantly predominates, nevertheless for both years the weight appears to be slightly on the "hostile" and "moving away" category. In the case of the mother the attitude to the hero is predominantly accepting; for the father relationships are fairly evenly divided between accepting and separating; and in the case of the other-adult there is a hint that hostility tends to outweigh acceptance. In the adult-to-hero relationship, for the first time the category of "power" has assumed considerable importance though only at a statistically significant level when compared with the "power" frequency for mother-to-hero in Grade VI (Chi-square = 5.53, $p < .002$), and for father-to-hero in E class (Chi-square = 7.7, $p < .01$).

(f) Hero-to-other-adult

Relationships		Positive		Negative	Totals
		Accepting	Power	Separating	
Grade VI	N=26	(2+3) 5	(0+18) 18	(14+13) 27	50
E Class	N=17	(5+4) 9	(1+12) 13	(14+4) 18	40

The distributions for the 2 years are not significantly different statistically ($p > .30$), but there does seem to be some indication of a change beginning, in that the distribution of the relationships in E class tends to be more even and there is no significant difference in the frequencies of the 3 categories in this later year (Chi-square = 2.79, $df = 2$, $p > .30$, not significant). The feature common to both years is the large number of submissive relationships, many more in association with the other-adult than with the father, and rather more than with the mother. In spite of the varied forms of negative relationships with other-adults (hostility, resentment, indifference, etc., as shown in Appendix IV, Tables 113-4) submissiveness of the hero is still a frequent terminal-relationship.

(g) Comparison of adult-to-hero and hero-to-adult relationships (Girls)

To summarize and bring together what has been covered already in sections (a) to (f):-

(1) When mother-to-hero and father-to-hero relationships are compared the mother is seen as being accepting, the father as being equally accepting and separating, that is, as having a somewhat ambivalent role. Other-adults are seen as having the most diverse relationships in that their responses fall neatly and equally into categories of accepting, dominating, and being hostile.

(ii) In the matter of frequency of adult-to-hero relationships, Grade VI girls more often project relationships initiated by the mother and the other-adult than those initiated by the father (Chi-square goodness of fit = 7.16, $df = 2$; $.05 > p > .02$). In E class the frequencies for all three adults are more comparable:

To hero from -

Relationships	Mother	Father	Other-adult	Total
Grade VI (N=26)	80	51	76	207
E Class (N=17)	52	39	43	134

(iii) In the relationships initiated by the hero, there are no significant differences in patterns for Grade VI and E class ($p = .30$). Both primary and secondary girls project, on the average, the same number of hero-to-adult relationships, and both refer most often to relationships with other-adults

than to those with either mother or father (Chi-square goodness of fit, Grade VI = 9.65, $df = 2$, $p < .01$; E class = 18.6, $df = 2$, $p < .001$).

From hero to -

Relationships	Mother	Father	Other-adult	Total
Grade VI (N=26)	31	25	50	106
E Class (N=17)	23	10	40	73

(iv) With both primary and secondary girls "hostility" and "power" relationships between hero and other-adult are those most frequently expressed.

2. Relationship Between Peers

These are treated in 3 groups - relationships between siblings, between peers of the same sex (peers SS), and between peers of the opposite sex (peers OS). Cards which lend themselves most readily to these projections are: siblings - Card I and sometimes Card II; peers SS and peers OS - Cards III, IV (where the "doll" is seen sometimes as a doll and sometimes as a baby), VI and VII, and also sometimes Cards VIII and XI where, although there are no figures presented save the one child, classmates or friends are introduced into the story. Similarly for Card XII not infrequently a story is made about siblings or friends joining with the hero in some activity.

TABLE 67

Peer Relationships : Girls

Relationships	Positive	Negative	Total	
(A) Between siblings	Accepting	Power	Separating	
Grade VI	(2+13) 15	(1+1) 2	(3+5) 8	25
E Class	(3+9) 12	(0+0) 0	(5+7) 12	24
(B) Between peers SS				
Grade VI	(0+13) 13	(5+0) 5	(6+14) 20	38
E Class	(1+14) 15	(5+0) 5	(2+7) 9	29
(C) Between peers OS				
Grade VI	(0+24) 24	(10+5) 15	(9+11) 20	59
E Class	(1+16) 17	(12+4) 16	(7+7) 14	47

Because of the nature of the Cards there would appear to be some comparable opportunities for the projection of peers SS and peers OS relationships, but in fact peers OS relationships are more frequent than either peers SS or sibling relationships in both years (Chi-square goodness of fit, Grade VI = 14.45, df 2, $p < .001$; E class 8.8,

df 2, $p < .02$). It would seem that relationships with the opposite sex, since they are not more easily invited by the structure of the cards than peer SS relationships, must be of more interest to the girls in both Grade VI and E class. Siblings get relatively more attention in E class than in Grade VI but not significantly more than is given to peers SS. There are few power relationships between siblings or peers SS. However, with peers OS power relationships, usually concerned with the female exerting some dominance over the male, occur with much the same frequency as accepting and separating relationships.

There is an apparent tendency in peer SS relationships for fewer separating relationships to occur in E class than Grade VI, but this difference does not reach statistical significance. If there is indeed a trend towards fewer peer SS separating relationships it could well be attributed to the fact that the new setting of the secondary school encourages banding together to cope with the stresses of the new situation.

There is also a tendency in Grade VI for the proportion of power relationships to other relationships occurring with peers OS to exceed the proportion of power relationships occurring with the other two groups, namely siblings (Chi-square = 8.66, $p < .01$) and peers SS (p just exceeds .05). If the

whole range of relationships (initiated by the hero and imposed on the hero) are broken down into relationships concerned with the family and those concerned with other-than the family, there is a striking balance between the two. In Grade VI mother-to-hero, father-to-hero, hero-to-father, hero-to-mother, and sibling relationships total 207; the rest total 214. In D class the total for family relationships is 146, and for the rest, 141. So that over the whole range of situations presented in these pictures the girls project equally often relationships which concern the immediate family circle and the larger community circle - especially the school community - outside the home.

Boys

1. Relationship Between Adults and Hero

(a) Mother-to-hero

Relationships		Positive		Negative	Total
		Accepting	Power	Separating	
Grade VI	N=26	(6+28) 34	(11+3) 14	(8+4) 12	60
D Class	N=17	(2+19) 21	(8+0) 8	(3+4) 7	36

The patterns of these relationships at both times of testing are similar ($p > .95$). The frequencies for the 3

categories are far from equal (Chi-square goodness of fit, Grade VI = 13.8, $p = <.001$; E class = 10.3, $p <.01$). The primary role of the mother is projected as an accepting one and her positive relationships with the hero far exceed her negative ones. That is, there is little presentation of her as a person hostile to, or rejecting of the hero.

The subjects in both years project, on the average, roughly the same number of mother-to-hero relationships.

(b) Hero-to-mother

Relationships	Positive		Negative	Total
	Accepting	Power	Separating	
Grade VI (N=26)	(3+3) 6	(1+6) 7	(0+8) 8	21
E Class (N=17)	(1+1) 2	(1+0) 1	(0+9) 9	12

Immediately noticeable is the comparability of hero-to-mother relationships given by the boys with hero-to-father relationships given by the girls. Just as there is in E class a marked falling-off in the number of hero-to-father relationships projected by the girls, so the number of hero-to-mother relationships projected by the E class boys has dropped sharply and significantly in relation to the previous year, to a number so small as to be important

only because of its smallness. (See also p. 557.)

In the responses in Grade VI there is no significant difference between the frequencies in the 3 categories ($p > .90$), or between the numbers of positive and negative relationships. If, because of the smallness of the numbers, the relationships given in E class are considered as simply positive or negative, then the group as symbolised by its heroes is ambivalent to the mother, and her mainly positive and accepting overtures are as likely to be reciprocated negatively as positively (binomial test, $p = .5$). However, the negative relationships are not aggressive; the hero turns away from the mother; he does not evince any desire to attack or contend with her.

Relationships directed from the mother to the hero are expressed much more frequently than are those from hero to mother. The subjects appear to be still sufficiently egocentric as to be more interested in what happens to the hero (that is, to themselves), than in what the hero contributes to a situation.

(c) Father-to-hero

		Positive		Negative	Total
Relationships		Accepting	Power	Separating	
Grade VI	N=26	(5+16)	(9+1)	(27+7)	
		21	10	34	65
E Class	N=17	(1+9)	(5+0)	(12+6)	
		10	5	18	33

There is no significant difference between the patterns of the 2 years. The father is seen as exercising mainly 2 of the 3 categories of relationships: he is a person who is "moving against or away from" the hero, or a person who is accepting (Chi-square goodness of fit, Grade VI = 13.3, df 2, $p < .01$; E class = 7.8 df 2, $p < .02$).

As in the father-to-girl relationship, the father is not presented as an unprejudiced or unemotional disciplinarian or judge. His assertion of authority is usually accompanied by anger or hostility so that what might have been "power" relationships become rejecting, separating or denying, and dominate the father-to-son relationships. The father's hostility in the stories often accompanies disciplining by the imposition of restrictions, or disapproval of the hero's activities - he is seen as punitive, angry, depriving.⁶ But the hero's reactions to the father's behaviour (see below) indicate that he is not yet ready to assert himself against the father.

(d) Hero-to-father

The pattern of hero-to-father reactions is constant for the 2 testings ($p = .50$).

Relationships		Positive		Negative	Total
		Accepting	Power	Separating	
Grade VI	N=26	(2+3) 5	(1+17) 18	(3+6) 9	32
E Class	N=17	(1+6) 7	(0+13) 13	(0+4) 4	

Status or power relationships predominate in both years (Chi-square goodness of fit, Grade VI = 8.29, $p < .01$; E class = 5.38, $.05 > p > .02$). Submissive relationships form the highest proportion. They are often the culmination of an abortive attempt at independence or defiance terminating quite often in expressions of repentance, reform or shame, suggesting that the boy wants to assert himself against the father but feels or discovers that he is not yet powerful enough or ready to do so, and guilt or prudence brings him back into line. The hero is repentant or he dissociates himself from the father, but he shows relatively little hostility to him. This relationship is kept for the Other-adult. (For typical examples of these relationships, see Appendix IV Tables 117/8, 121/2.

(e) Other-adult-to-hero

Relationships		Positive		Negative	Total
		Accepting	Power	Separating	
Grade VI	N=26	(0+21) 21	(42+0) 42	(29+7) 36	99
E Class	N=17	(0+12) 12	(20+1) 21	(17+1) 18	

The two distributions are again comparable. The emphasis in Grade VI is on the categories of "power" and "separating" whose frequencies are significantly higher than those in the "accepting" category ($p < .01$). In E class however, the difference between frequencies does not reach the .05 level of significance. This may be because with transition to secondary school pupils are confronted daily by a variety of teachers (where before their teachers were restricted almost entirely to the class teacher and occasional visits from the Headmaster or peripatetic specialists) and have more diverse experiences of teacher-child attitudes and relationships.

In comparison with the father's relationship, however, the other-adult's relationships in both years have a much higher frequency in the power category (Grade VI, $p < .001$; E class, $p < .05$). In the details of the stories the other-adult is depicted as using more force than the father, of compelling desired modes of behaviour in the hero. This physically-coercive quality attributed to the teacher has already been discussed in Chapter XII, p. 471). The pattern of other-adult relationships for boys and girls differ: the girls see the other-adult as relatively less dominating and more accepting than the boys do.

(f) Hero-to-other-adult

Relationships		Positive		Negative	Total
		Accepting	Power	Separating	
Grade VI	N=26	(0+4) 4	(2+17) 19	(10+8) 18	41
E Class	N=17	(0+0) 0	(1+9) 10	(4+8) 12	22

Here is a different pattern of relationships than with the mother or the father. The "accepting" category is practically non-existent, the other two categories of "power" and "separating" contain virtually all the responses equally divided amongst them.

Distributions for both years follow the same pattern. Whilst the other-adult is endowed by quite a number of subjects with an accepting attitude to the hero - even though detachment or domination may be more frequent - the subjects seem to find it unlikely that the hero would react in an accepting fashion. He is seen as wanting to resist authority and react hostilely. However, in this struggle for power the hero has to submit to adult pressure: in Grade VI the domination to submission ratio is 2:17; in E class it is still 1:9.

The negative relationships between the hero and the other-adult are not necessarily of an aggressive nature.

In both years a large number of these relationships are, in fact, "moving away" relationships, usually expressed as indifference to the other-adult.

(g) Comparison of adult-to-hero and hero-to-adult relationships (Boys)

(1) Each of the 3 adults, mother, father, and other-adult, calls up from the hero a significantly different total number of relationships in the Grade VI year. The mother gets fewest, the other-adult most (Chi-square goodness of fit = 6.4, $df = 2$, $p < .05$). In the E class year there is less inequality in the frequencies of relationships of hero to the 3 adults; although the hero-to-mother relationships are still the smallest sum, the 3 frequencies are not statistically significantly different ($p = .10$).

From hero to -

Relationships	Mother	Father	Other-adult	Total
Grade VI $N=26$	21	32	41	94
E Class $N=17$	12	24	22	58

To hero from -

Grade VI	60	65	99	224
E Class	36	33	51	120

The simplest explanation is that the structure of the

cards induces the subject to create more relationships between the hero and the father or the other-adult than between the hero and the mother. And this is a reasonable supposition since a mother-figure is presented only on Cards I and XI, but a father or other-adult figure appears on Cards I, III (female teacher), IV, X, and XI.

(11) It may be argued also, however, that the boy's own relationship to the mother is not a "problem" to him and does not have to be worked out projectively. Her role is expressed in both years as a chiefly accepting one: she does sometimes exert her dominance, she is occasionally punitive, but she shows little direct hostility. She is apparently fairly predictable in her reactions (otherwise one would expect much more equality of frequencies in the various sub-categories for mother-to-hero). So interaction between hero and mother presumably causes little worry and the hero has little need to formulate his reactions to the mother in concrete and specific terms. With the fewer subjects participating in the second year, the total number of hero-to-mother relationships drops, but the average number per subject, and the proportion of the

total hero-to-adult relationships remain virtually unchanged.

(iii) The father and the other-adult, on the other hand, appear to exemplify power and the restrictions of society. Both are hostile, and the other-adult is, in addition, given to asserting his power and dominance over the hero who is trying to assert himself and his independence and establish his status. So these adults are involved with the hero in situations which require "working-out"; situations whose well-detailed stories suggest that these relationships are of pressing concern to the subjects and need to be followed through and verbalised.

(iv) The father is presented as an essentially ambivalent person. Even in the same story in association with "accepting" attitudes he may behave hostilely to the hero, especially in matters of discipline. To these behaviours the hero tends to react submissively.

(v) The other-adult too, is presented as an ambivalent figure. But in this case the ambivalence is between dominance and hostility - more particularly in the Grade VI year - and the hero reacts with a greater show of hostility than to the father though he still equally often also submits. The hero shows virtually no affection for or acceptance of the

other-adult, who is usually in these stories a teacher, an official representative of authority, or someone the hero has attacked in some way, so the hostility is a mutual exchange.

2. Relationship Between Peers

TABLE 68

Peer Relationships : Boys

Relationships	Positive		Negative	Total
(A) Between siblings	Accepting	Power	Separating	
Grade VI	(1+12) 13	(1+0) 1	(2+1) 3	17
E Class	(0+1) 1	(2+0) 2	(1+0) 1	4
(B) Between peers SS				
Grade V	(1+10) 11	(7+1) 8	(2+3) 5	24
E Class	(0+3) 3	(1+1) 2	(4+3) 7	12
(C) Between peers OS				
Grade VI	(2+17) 19	(14+2) 16	(1+6) 7	42
E Class	(3+19) 22	(7+0) 7	(4+7) 11	40

The relationships between siblings as expressed by the Grade VI boys are almost entirely accepting, whether the

siblings are widely separated in age (Cards I and VII) or of roughly the same age group (Card VI). However, in the second year there are so few sibling relationships given that, even with the reduced number of subjects to account in part for this, one feels that interest in this area of relationships has diminished. It seems as though interest may have switched to the area of peers OS which averages almost twice as many responses per subject as in the primary year.

A similar falling-off in E class occurs in relationships with peers SS. In Grade VI the frequencies of the three categories of relationships are comparable; in E class, though the numbers are too few to attempt valid conclusions, the tendency seems to be towards rather more "separating" feelings.

Peers OS command many more relationships even than siblings or peers SS in Grade VI (Chi-square goodness of fit, Grade VI = 12.00, $p < .01$; Chi-square goodness of fit, E class = 41.55, $p < .001$). There is a slight change in the distribution in the E class (approaching significance at the .05 level) when there is less emphasis on "power" (Chi-square = 4.54, $p < .05$); fewer heroes try to dominate the girls, and their responses to them indicate more of a love-hate conflict.

Comparing the totals of all relationships for each peer group in the 2 years it is obvious that reactions in Grade VI and E class to the stimulus of the child figures on the cards are different (Chi-square = 7.20, $p < .05$). Though the highest proportion of the Grade VI heroes' relationships are concerned with peers of the opposite sex, the E class heroes' concern is even stronger. Boys in E class, and even more so in Grade VI, seem a little young theoretically to be socially interested in girls. It is probable that their interest is, first, an imitation of the older boys in their community - a keeping up with the expectations of their culture rather than a genuinely sexual interest; and secondly, that continuous co-education tends to foster a social, but not necessarily sexual, awareness of the opposite sex. Such an imitative, socially-orientated and a-sexual interest would be in keeping with the usually emotionally-colourless quality of the opposite-sex relationship given in Grade VI, and with the emphasis on sharing with the opposite sex given in E class, though it must be admitted that there is emerging in the stories of a few of the boys in E class, particularly in responses to Card II, some hint of sexual interest and responsiveness.

3. Summary

- (1) Boys and girls are "takers" not "givers." They more often express - and presumably, are more interested in - the relationship that is made with the child than what the child contributes to the relationship.
- (2) They are uncertain of how many of the situations in which they find themselves will work out (high on "intermediate" outcomes), but are not so intimidated by circumstances as to feel that situations are likely to be resolved in a way unfavourable to them (very low on "unfavourable outcomes").
- (3) The feelings most frequently projected by all four groups of subjects are: hostility, feeling under compulsion, pain/distress, pleasure/success, and succorance.
- (4) Boys: (a) Mothers' relationships to them are seen as being accepting; but fathers while being accepting, are also seen as capable of appreciable hostility.
(b) Other-adults' relationships to them cover the whole range of possibilities fairly

evenly, though in Grade VI they seem more conscious of or concerned about the attempts of other-adults to dominate them.

(c) In response to adults, boys show themselves as rather unresponsive to the mother, submissive to the father, and mainly submissive and/or psychologically separated from other adults.

(d) Among peers, relationships are evoked most frequently by peers of the opposite sex; the interrelationships are positive and chiefly accepting.

(5) Girls: (a) Girls see parents as accepting and other adults as having diverse attitudes to them.

(b) Girls' relationships to the mother are diverse but weighted on the positive side; relationships to the father receive negligible expression; relationships to other adults are characterised by submission and/or hostility.

(c) Relationships with peers of the opposite sex occur much more frequently than with peers of the same sex or with siblings and fall

fairly equally into all three categories of accepting, power, and separating relationships.

4. The Composite and the Individual Picture of Interpersonal Relationships

Boys and Girls

The patterns of distributions of adult-to-hero relationships projected by the groups of boys and girls in Grade VI have considerable similarity to the distributions of the following year. There are certainly some obvious differences between the analysis of the Grade VI and E class responses, for example in the absolute numbers of relationships expressed in the two years. But these differences in absolute numbers could result from differences in the number of subjects on the two occasions. They could also result from differences in the length of the stories given by the individual subjects, or because of individual changes in perception of relationships and consequent changes in individual distribution of relationship responses. Again, individual differences in perception of interpersonal relationships could be concealed in the group pattern through changes made by one

individual being compensated by "opposite" changes being made by another individual. Can it be assumed, then, that the composite picture truly reflects the individual picture, and that individual projections of relationships have changed little between Grade VI and E class?

An attempt to explore for significant differences between the individuals and the group can be made by looking at the protocols of the 17 female and the 17 male subjects answering the MPST on both testing occasions.

These individual subjects do show variations in their own compared protocols in the numbers of responses falling into the various categories of adult-to-hero relationships. This is to be expected in a test which is "open," that is, in which the length of a story is not limited by the structure of the test and is in part a function of the subject's present mood and of his capacity for verbalization. What is important then is not the absolute numbers of responses made, but whether the proportioning or balance of relationship-responses between the categories - for example, between "accepting" and "separating" responses - remains constant, or relatively so, for the individual subjects when they repeat the tests.

The questions to be answered are, then: (1) does the composite picture truly reflect the individual's balance of projections of adult-to-hero relationships; for example, does the majority of individual male subjects in Grade VI attribute to the father in fairly equal numbers attitudes of "accepting" and "separating" in keeping with the balance of "accepting" to "separating" responses shown in the composite picture? (2) Do the individual subjects produce the same individual balances of ratios at both times of testing? (3) If the ratios of interpersonal relationships change, are the changes for a significantly large number of subjects in one direction and in keeping with changes in the composite picture? (See Table 69).

This Table, of course, does not show whether the individuals have identical ratios in Grade VI and E class; it shows only how many individuals give ratios of relationships similar in direction to those of the composite-group-picture in each year. For example, in the composite picture the mother-to-hero relationships are shown as being more often "accepting" than "power" relationships - a ratio which occurs with 12 out of the 17 girls in Grade VI, and 13 of the 17 in E class.

TABLE 69

Direction of Ratios for Categories of Interpersonal Relationships for Subjects Repeating the IP3T

Girls N = 17

Area of relationship	Ratio of attitudes x : y	Ratios of Individual Subjects								
		Composite Picture	Grade VI x/y x=y x<y			Composite Picture	E Class x/y x=y x<y			
Mother to hero	separation : acceptance	separation < acceptance	3	3	11	separation < acceptance	1	3	13	
	separation : power	separation > power	8	8	1	separation = power	7	8	2	
	acceptance : power	acceptance > power	12	4	1	acceptance > power	13	1	3	
Father to hero	separation : acceptance	separation < acceptance	3	7	7	separation = acceptance	5	3	9	
	separation : power	separation > power	6	11	0	separation > power	6	11	0	
	acceptance : power	acceptance > power	9	6	2	acceptance > power	14	2	1	
Other adult to hero	separation : acceptance	separation= acceptance	7	2	8	separation = acceptance	7	6	4	
	separation : power	separation= power	8	5	4	separation = power	7	5	5	
	acceptance : power	acceptance= power	5	9	3	acceptance = power	5	10	2	
Siblings	separation : acceptance	separation < acceptance	2	9	6	separation = acceptance	4	9	4	
Peers SS	separation : acceptance	separation= acceptance	5	9	3	separation = acceptance	3	7	7	
Peers OS	separation : acceptance	separation= acceptance	3	5	9	separation = acceptance	4	5	8	
	separation : power	separation= power	6	5	6	separation = power	4	4	9	
	acceptance : power	acceptance= power	6	6	5	acceptance = power	4	8	5	
Boys N = 17										
Mother to hero	separation : acceptance	separation < acceptance	3	4	10	separation < acceptance	2	3	12	
	separation : power	separation= power	3	11	3	separation = power	4	10	3	
	acceptance : power	acceptance > power	10	5	2	acceptance > power	11	5	1	
Father to hero	separation : acceptance	separation > acceptance	8	7	2	separation > acceptance	10	5	2	
	separation : power	separation > power	9	5	3	separation > power	13	3	1	
	acceptance : power	acceptance > power	5	10	2	acceptance = power	6	9	2	

(Table continued on next page)

TABLE 69 (cont.)

Area of relationship	Ratio of attitudes x : y	Ratios of Individual Subjects								
		Grade VI						E Class		
		Composite Picture	x>y	x=y	x<y	Composite Picture	x>y	x=y	x<y	
Other adult to hero	separation : acceptance	separation > acceptance	9	5	3	separation = acceptance	6	8	3	
	separation : power	separation = power	4	4	9	separation = power	4	4	9	
	power : acceptance	power > acceptance	13	2	2	power = acceptance	11	1	5	
Siblings	nil									
Peers SS	separation : acceptance	separation = acceptance	2	11	4	separation = acceptance	3	12	2	
	separation : power	separation = power	1	11	5	separation = power	3	13	1	
	acceptance : power	acceptance = power	3	9	5	acceptance = power	2	14	1	
Peers OS	separation : acceptance	separation < acceptance	4	5	8	separation < acceptance	2	5	10	
	separation : power	separation < power	2	9	6	separation = power	3	13	1	
	acceptance : power	acceptance = power	4	7	6	acceptance > power	10	6	1	

To answer the two remaining questions posed above the following analyses are made:

(a) The number of subjects who retain the same ratio of responses between the two categories of relationships are compared with the number of those whose ratios differ (Binomial test).

(b) The direction in which the changes in ratios of responses move is tested for significance (Sign test). For this purpose a change is a lessening or an increase in the dominance of one of the magnitudes of the ratio: any change - not just a reversal dominance - is counted. For example a subject who gives a ratio of acceptance : power relationships of 3:1 in the first test and of 2:1 in the second test does not reverse the direction of the ratio but shows what might conveniently be called a "negative" change in the weight of acceptance responses. All changes are therefore considered as positive or negative changes in terms of a given one of the components in the ratio of categories.

Table 70 sets out results of these analyses.

For only three adult-to-child relationships expressed by the girls do the change: no change numbers differ significantly from an assumed 50:50 random chance of change. Two of these are the mother-to-hero relationships. Since

TABLE 70

Ratio of Relationship Responses, Grade VI and E Class

Girls N=17	Magnitude of ratio	No. of subjects showing in ratio of magnitudes		Binomial test (2-tail) p	Significant at level $p \leq .05$	No. of subjects showing change in direction of ratio by		Sign Test (2-tail) p	Significant at level $p \leq .05$
		Change	No Change			Increase in weight of "x"	Increase in weight of "y"		
Mother to hero	acceptance : power	15	2	.002	significant	8	7	1.00	-
	acceptance : separation	12	5	.144	-	9	3	.146	-
	power : separation	13	4	.05	significant	6	7	.500	-
Father to hero	acceptance : power	12	5	.144	-	9	3	.146	-
	acceptance : separation	16	1	.001	significant	10	6	.450	-
	power : separation	9	8	1.00	-	4	5	1.00	-
Other adult to hero	acceptance : power	11	6	.33	-	6	5	.55	-
	acceptance : separation	12	5	.144	-	6	6	-	-
	power : separation	11	6	.33	-	7	4	.54	-
Peers SS	acceptance : separation	9	8	1.00	-	6	3	.508	-
Siblings	acceptance : separation	8	9	1.00	-	4	4	-	-
Peers OS	acceptance : power	11	6	.332	-	4	7	.508	-
	acceptance : separation	14	3	.012	significant	8	6	.79	-
	power : separation	14	3	.012	significant	7	7	-	-

(Table continued on next page)

TABLE 70 (cont.)

Boys N=17	Magnitude of ratio	No. of subjects showing in ratio of magnitudes		Binomial test (2-tail) p	Significant at level $p \leq .05$	No. of subjects showing change in direction of ratio by		Sign Test (2-tail) p	Significant at level $p \leq .05$
		Change	No change			Increase in weight of "x"	Increase in weight of "y"		
Mother to hero	acceptance : power	13	4	.05	significant	8	5	.382	-
	acceptance : separation	14	3	.012	significant	8	6	.79	-
	power : separation	8	9	1.00	-	4	4	-	-
Father to hero	acceptance : power	11	6	.332	-	6	5	1.0	-
	acceptance : separation	10	7	.63	-	5	5	-	-
	power : separation	12	5	.144	-	7	5	.77	-
Other adult to hero	acceptance : power	12	5	.144	-	5	7	.77	-
	acceptance : separation	13	4	.05	significant	7	6	1.00	-
	power : separation	11	6	.332	-	4	7	.348	-
Peers SS	acceptance : power	8	9	1.00	-	5	3	.726	-
	acceptance : separation	8	9	1.00	-	3	5	.726	-
	power : separation	7	10	.63	-	1	6	.124	-
Peers OS	acceptance : power	12	5	.144	-	11	1	.006	significant
	acceptance : separation	13	4	.05	significant	9	4	.266	-
	power : separation	9	8	1.00	-	1	8	.040	significant

the direction of change is not of statistically significant constancy in either a positive or negative direction (Sign test), it seems that the female subjects, though presenting comparable composite pictures of mother-to-hero relationships at first and second testing, are individually neither holding to their original projection of maternal attitudes nor following a predictable pattern of change in their projections.

In peer relationships it is only in relationship to peers of the opposite sex that a significant number of female subjects show changes in their individual ratios. These changes are such that a shift in ratio in one direction by one subject is compensated by a shift in the other direction by another subject so that although ultimately the composite picture appears to be constituted much as before, it conceals the fact that a large number of female subjects have changed their projections in this area of relationships.

For the boys there are four relationships - three adult-to-hero and one peer-to-peer - where a significantly large number of subjects give at the second testing a changed ratio of responses. On three out of four occasions the change is in the ratio of accepting:separating attitudes.

From these analyses it seems that, although there are changes in the ratios of the responses of individual subjects such changes, with few exceptions, occur no more frequently than can be attributed to chance. More important, only rarely do the changes in ratios tend to be in the one direction for a significantly large number of the subjects. More often where large numbers of individuals have changed, the similarity of distributions of relationships at the two testings derives from the fact that changes made by individual subjects serve to compensate one another.

For the subjects in this study, the projections of interpersonal relationships of the majority of subjects at each testing with the MPST are, on the whole, appropriately reflected in the composite picture. However the group is far from being a constant unit: greater and lesser shifts occur in the balance of ratio magnitudes of individual subjects, some in one direction and some in another but with (save for two exceptions) no overriding consistency. The shifts tend to cancel one another out. The composite picture therefore, also conceals individual fluctuations, even while giving a much better-than-chance true reflection of the pattern of the individual subjects' projections of interpersonal relationships.

5. Comparisons of Girls and Boys with Reference to Sex and Educational Level, as derived from Themes and Reactions expressed in MPST

(1) Theories and observation of child development show that just prior to the onset of adolescence the child has reached a peak of poise, confidence and conformity. But with preadolescence and adolescence one expects heightened attempts by the child to establish himself as an independent individual in an adult world and consequently a challenging attack on its restrictions. In order to make these attacks the adolescent needs to build up in himself some sense and source of confidence - an area of adequacy. He is quite likely to exaggerate and boast unrealistically in this area. He is also likely to shift his attention from one area of interest to another as he discards a field in which he is unable to convince himself of adequacy and tries out another.

This sort of behaviour can be seen in the stories of boys in both Grade VI and E class. In Grade VI the boys reveal self-assurance and confidence in the weight of their relatively "unconscious" incidental references to physical adequacy. At the same time they show their conformity

to the cultural expectation of "inferiority" in the tenor of their specific "adequacy" themes, where inadequacy far surpasses adequacy and in which they portray themselves as weaker than adults, dependent and submissive. In B class their approach to hero-adequacy differs. There is less duality in their hero-presentation, less suggestion of conflict between acquiescing with the socially-imposed stereotype of the boy as inferior and dependent, and a personal belief in themselves as competent and adequate. So they project proportionately fewer themes related to physical adequacy and they no longer, by incidental references (which are now missing), suggest an underlying confidence in themselves. They appear largely to have acquiesced, at least temporarily, in viewing themselves as physically inadequate, or unable to win in competition with the adult in this area. They portray physical adequacy as something that is gained - if it is gained - only through great and persistent effort. Physical adequacy seems no longer to be an area from which they may safely issue their challenge to the adult world and their attention has turned towards possessions as though aware that material goods may give status where physical power is insufficient.

The girls on the other hand present, even at the end of the primary school, a different picture. The girl-hero is frequently, in both Grade VI and E class, a creature involved in a situation which is stronger than she is. As a person exerting effort and attempting to deal with the situation she is rather stronger than the boy-hero - at least than the Grade VI hero.* Her handicap is not lack of physical strength or skill - this does not seem to come much into consideration - but she is the victim of fortuitously adverse circumstances such as ill-fortune, poverty, loss, or she possesses inhibiting emotional qualities such as shyness, or she lacks intellectual qualities such as strategy in games, or she has difficulty in mastering lessons. There is a tone of stoicism and submissiveness in these stories.

In Grade VI boys exhibit little concern with intellectual power and pay little attention to emotional qualities, but in E class they express more emotion in association with intellectual activities. They project significantly more situations of hero-"failure" in

* Distributions for hero-strength, Grade VI girls and boys are significantly different ($p = .02$) with boys having significantly more weak heroes and significantly fewer average heroes than the girls.

intellectual attainment ($p < .05$) and present outcomes of such failure as more unpleasant than they did in Grade VI.

Whereas the boys appear to be shifting their ground to try out the idea of gaining adequacy in other areas, the girls' stories have a tone almost of masochistic resignation.

(2) A second important difference between the projections of the sexes is the relationship between the subject and the adult authority-figure of the subject's own sex. With Grade VI subjects, both male and female, the authority adult is presented as more often in conflict than in co-operation with the hero, but while this difference in frequencies is statistically significant for the boys it is not so for the girls. In E class the difference is more marked. Here the boys show a slight tendency to increase the average number of themes of conflict with the adult, whereas the trend for the girls is to increase the average number of themes of adult co-operation. A specific instance of this is the pattern of responses to Cards BIV and GIV where the girls present the adult female as co-operative and even sympathetic (though frequently ineffective) and the boys present the adult male as hostile, rejecting and punitive.

Relationship with the teacher, however, follows a special and somewhat different deviation. Primary and secondary girls identify the teacher as, first, in comparison with the parent far more prone than the parent to be in conflict with the child, and secondly, in his own right to be more likely to be in conflict than in co-operation with the child. The boys' stories do not project the same pattern. For them the adults with whom they are in conflict come from a wider field; they include fairly equally parents and teachers, and may include more nebulous representatives of the "outside" community with whom (because of the hero's predilection for stealing or increased indulgence in other social or moral offences such as lying and traffic offences) conflict is produced.

(3) If we consider the frequency of themes and how they are apportioned over the whole range of categories into which the themes have been divided (that is, 7 categories) we find that, although the total number of themes given by boys and girls in Grade VI and again in E class are similar, the distributions of frequencies in the categories are statistically significantly different ($p < .01$) for boys and girls at both times of testing.

The chief differences are in the numbers of themes dealing with associations between the child and the adult (both the authority and the non-authority adult) and in the number of "descriptive" themes whose higher use by boys, usually on Card I, suggests an avoidance of projection in a situation where the male child's role is sufficiently structured as to suggest dependence. (See Table 71.)

TABLE 71
Distribution of Theme Frequencies

Group	Authority		Non-authority		Pers. adequacy	Phys. adequacy	Description	Total
	Conflict	Co-op.	Opposm.	Co-op.				
Primary boys N=26	70	17	35	57	48	20	69	316
Primary girls N=26	50	38	20	88	66	20	51	332
Sec. boys N=17	41	9	27	39	39	6	56	217
Sec. girls N=17	24	27	20	47	50	17	27	212

Categories for which total numbers of responses differ significantly ($p \leq .05$) are:

Grade VI

authority conflict	boys > girls	Chi-square	4.92 < .05
authority co-operation	boys < girls	Chi-square	6.90 < .02
non-authority opposition	boys > girls	Chi-square	4.68 < .05
non-authority co-operation	boys < girls	Chi-square	6.20 < .02
description only	boys > girls	Chi-square	4.9 < .05

E Class

authority conflict	boys > girls	Chi-square	4.22 < .05
authority co-operation	boys < girls	Chi-square	9.22 < .01
physical danger	boys < girls	Chi-square	4.85 < .05
description only	boys > girls	Chi-square	10.94 < .001

(4) Male subjects in both Grade VI and E class project hostile reactions - anger, punishment of various kinds - as the most frequent adult reactions in hero-adult relationships: this is to be expected in view of the predominance of conflict situations within which the hero and adult are seen to be meeting. Hero aggression begets adult aggression. There are no startling differences between the reaction patterns in Grade VI and E class groups, but the most outstanding are:

- (a) an increased expression of fear in E class in relation to the teacher (Table 72).
- (b) an increased expression of shame and sorrow in E class in relation to the parent (Table 72).
- (c) an increasing internalisation of reaction in E class replacing acting-out of the hero's responses in Grade VI.

(5) Girls seen less able or less willing than boys to formulate and project emotional reactions on to the authoritative adult with whom they are in conflict - usually the teacher. Such adults are seen as behaving with detachment towards the hero, a detachment which itself appears to generate in the hero a tension for which no acceptable outlet is provided (such as the expiation provided for the boys in corporal punishment) and which is transmuted into defiance and resentment.

In the girls' much more frequent presentation of the adult (usually in this case the parent) as co-operative, the responses of hero to adult and vice versa convey at the best happiness and approval, and, at the worst, recognition by one of the participants of the effort made, and some sort of tolerance on the part of the other.

- (6) Some differences between Grade VI and E class

TABLE 72

Comparisons of Some Responses
(disregarding numbers of subjects)

Comparison of		Chi-square	p	Interpretation
deprivation	: other defined responses		not significant	not significant
* 18:13	*30:58			
repentance	: other defined responses	3.812	border-line .05	higher proportion of "reform" responses in Grade VI
15:3	44:36			
fear-worry responses	: other defined responses	5.498	<.02	higher proportion of fear responses in E class
* 3:9	56:30			
total emotional responses	: other defined responses	7.410	<.02	more emotional than other responses
28 (E class only)	11			
total emotional responses	: other defined responses	11.146	<.001	higher proportion of emotional responses in E class
*20:28	*29:11			
defined responses to other than parents & teachers	: undefined responses		Fisher test >.05	not significant
*12:4	*1:6			

* First figure in each pair is Grade VI score.
Second figure is E class score.

responses may be noted. It appears that there are rather more differences between the way boys see themselves and their world in Grade VI and E class than there are between the way girls see themselves in those years.

The chief differences for the girls are: the tendency for girls in E class to

- (a) view the teacher-in-authority as more co-operative,
- (b) depict the hero as a little less submissive to the authority adult,
- (c) create a somewhat higher proportion of themes of conflict or competition in non-authority relationships,
- (d) express less anxiety and more effort than they did in Grade VI.

The chief differences for the boys are: the tendency for boys in E class to

- (a) lack the underlying confidence in personal adequacy (implied in Grade VI),
- (b) show more concern over intellectual attainment,
- (c) show less concern with physical weakness and more with social adequacy (e.g. possession of material goods),

- (d) register fear in responses to conflict with the teacher, and shame in response to conflict with the father,
- (e) show increased internalisation of response in hostility situations,
- (f) show a reduced hostility between father and son than was apparent in Grade VI.

CHAPTER XIV

The Ideal Self-picture

A review of the literature

Analysis of the ideal self-picture

**Comparison of the cognized self-picture and
the ideal self-picture**

CHAPTER XIV

The Ideal Self-picture : A Review of the Literature

Defining the Ideal Self

As an extension of the child's idea of himself as he is, develops the picture of himself as he would like to be - his Ideal Self. This ideal self-picture, later to appear than the cognized self-picture, also changes with maturation, experience and reality-awareness, moving gradually in normal development toward congruence with the picture of the cognized self (Rogers, 1951), though discrepancies between the two remain. Rogers believes that therapy leads towards greater congruency between the two selves, but since self-actualization is never fully achieved the gap between the two is never fully bridged (Rogers, 1951; Bitler and Haigh, 1964).

The ideal self is, in Freudian theory, the result of identification with the people whom the child loves or fears or admires, and from whom he therefore adopts attitudes and values. In sociological terms it is the

core of values, the characteristics, aspirations and roles by which the individual directs his life and which again are taken over from "significant people", real or imaginary, for whom the individual has regard.

The ideal self is defined as what the individual would like to be - it is related to his level of aspiration and his value concepts. It may come close to or be in marked contrast with the cognized self (Bills, 1954; Horney, 1945). Lahiry (1960) reported a close relationship between the self-concepts of her adolescent girl subjects and their wishes (or ideal selves) for, when a girl felt she was lacking in some respect, she wished to improve in this area.

The Development of the Ideal Self

Havighurst, Robinson and Dorr (1946) attempted to trace the development of the ideal self from the initial stage of identification with the parents through childhood, and drew several conclusions about its development:-

1. The ideal self "passes during middle childhood and early adolescence through a stage of romanticism and glamour, culminating in late adolescence as a composite of desirable characteristics which may be symbolized by

an attractive visible adult or may be simply an imaginary figure" (p. 255).

2. The ideal self tends with age, to be modelled less on the family, and instead, to be more influenced by people of prestige.

3. Environment greatly influences the child's ideal self, both through the sorts of figures available for identification and in the rate with which the child achieves a mature ideal.

Sex differences have been found in the development of the ideal self. Perkins (1957) found that during the latter half of the primary school years the self-picture and the ideal-self-picture became increasingly congruent, the girls achieving a significantly greater congruence than the boys. Boys showed more need for success in competition, for recognition of bravery, for success in sport and games. Girls, Wilkie (1962) found, expressed more desire to help others and to get their high regard. Gesell and Ilg (1946) see the ideal self as developing concurrently with the cognized self. It emerges as the child learns to distinguish right from wrong and establishes the rudiments of conscience, somewhere about the age of 9 years. Plant (1950) says there

is little sign of "value" concepts before the age of 12, and Staines (1954) found that for a group of 12 year olds the items relating to the ideal self chosen as most important were most often to do with values, and next, to do with physical attributes.

Since the picture of the cognized self changes according to an individual's development, experience, enlarging environment and self actualization, and hence leads to changing aspirations, so the ideal self also may be expected to change in conformity with these aspirations.

In adolescence both cognized and ideal self-pictures may change radically in association with the process of bodily changes and of what David Ausubel (1952) calls "desatellisation" when the adolescent is breaking from dependence on the family and is feeling the pull of outside adults and allegiances, the strengthening of group pressures, and the growing involvement in peer relationships and loyalties. As the ideal self develops, ideals become more in keeping with reality and "the known self and the ideal self and the realities of the environment should with age, draw closer" (Emmett, 1959^{p109}). Wilkie (1962) suggests that considerable difference between the self picture and the ideal-self picture denotes a low degree of

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self acceptance. Rogers (1951) states that his researches suggest that the "correlation between self and ideal is initially low" and that during therapy the self-ideal changes but "the perceived self changes even more markedly" - both changing in directions which converge on reality. This coming together of cognized and ideal self-pictures may and does occur without the intervention of therapy.

From studies such as these it is reasonable to infer that the subjects under study will already have established pictures of an ideal self, that these ideal-self pictures may differ considerably from the pictures of the cognized self, and that the pictures of both cognized and ideal self may be in the process of alteration. It cannot be assumed, however, that at the second time of testing there will be a greater similarity between the cognized-self-picture and the ideal-self-picture than at the first testing. Growing appreciation of reality may, for example, cause the estimate of the cognized self to move while the rating for the ideal self moves little or not at all.

Rogers in Section IV of his Test of Personality Adjustment provides for the "rating of self and ideal" (1931, p. 15). The test "endeavours ... to discover discrepancies of which the child is keenly conscious" and taps areas of personal

inadequacy, social discrepancies, family relationships.

This chapter of the study sets out:

- (a) an analysis of the ideal self derived from
Section IV of Rogers' Test,
- (b) a comparison of the ideal self with the cognized
self,
- (c) a comparison of the ideal self as expressed in
Grade VI and E class.

The subjects of (c) above, are restricted to those
who did the Rogers' Test in both Grade VI and E class,
namely 20 girls and 19 boys.

The Picture of the Ideal Self

This is derived by the same techniques as used in
establishing the picture of the cognized self but the
data is restricted to the material contained in Section IV
of Rogers' Test. The distribution of self ratings along
a 10-point scale for the cognized self and the ideal self,
and the differences between the ratings are tabled (Tables
75 to 79). Ratings regarded as indicating complete
or close identification with the stereotypes are 0, 1, and
2; ratings 7, 8, and 9 are regarded as indicating marked
or complete rejection of likeness to the stereotype.

(1) The Girls' Ideal Self-picture

The composite pictures of the ideal self given by the girls in Grade VI and in E class have much in common and so are discussed together. By observation alone it can be seen that the distributions of ratings on most scales are, on both occasions of testing, fairly comparable, both for the total groups (Table 73) and for the smaller groups of subjects who did the test in both years (Table 74).

In the area of personal adequacy (that is, items 1, 2, 3, 4, 11, 13), the wish to identify with the stereotype is strong except for item 11 where envy of the male role is entirely rejected by the majority of girls. There is more agreement in both years about the desirability of general school success (item 3) than there is about the desirability of physical beauty (item 1) though attitude to beauty as an ideal quality differs a little between the groups. Eighty-five per cent of the Grade VI girls rate the ideal for item 1 (prettiness) in the positive half of the scale, but only half the group wish ideally to be actually the prettiest girl in the school. The first hypothesis is that this may well result from the tempering of fantasy by reality. However this does not account for the greater massing of ratings in E class towards the positive pole for prettiness. Presumably the girls in E class would be just as conscious

of the improbability of being, in reality, the prettiest girl in the school. So the argument may be that, although the value of physical beauty has already been recognized by the younger girls, awareness of its desirability is even greater for the older girls who may be expected by reason of their maturation to be sexually and socially more highly motivated to want prettiness.

On items relating to social adequacy (numbers 8, 17, 5, 10, 9, 7, 16), there is greater diversity of aspiration. To be a girl who enjoys parties (item 5) and who is popular (item 10) is highly regarded by almost everyone in both years. Neither of these implies, of necessity, participation in a heterosexual group, and in fact, ratings for the desirability of the companionship of boys in play or as boy-friends are well dispersed. Over half the girls in both years do not rate as ideal, or approaching ideal, the girl who mixes frequently in boys' play. But while the ideal self-picture of most of the girls in Grade VI does not include having many boy-friends, there is a decided increase by E class in the number of girls whose ideal self-picture does.

At both years it is virtually unanimously agreed that

TABLE 73
Distribution of Ratings for Cognized Self-picture and Ideal Self-picture
Girls : total group (N=29)

Item	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18																		
	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I																		
Grade VI	9	1	4		2		2	2	2		1	1	1		12	14*	8	4	4	1	18	17	19	18	7		13	5	10	23	15	7*	19	13	20	19*
	8	3	1	3	2		2				1				3	2	1		1			1	2	3	1		5	3	2	1	2	1	2	6	4	1
	7	5					1								2	1	1		2		2	2		2	2		1	1	1		2	2	1	1	2	3
	6	1	1		3		1		1		1				1		1		2		1	1	1	1	1		1	1	2		2	1	1	2	3	
	5	2	1	5	6		3	1			2				1		1		3		2		1	1	1		1	2		2		4	3		1	
	4	6	3	8	3	2	1	2	4		6		10	3	2	3	8	1	8	2	1	2	4	1	6	1	2	1	1		4	3	1	1		
	3	3	2	4	3		4	3	1	4	5		8	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	1		1	5	3	2	3	3	2	3	4	2	2			
	2		2	3	3	2	1	3	2	1	5	1	4	4	1		2	3	3	3	2	2	1		3	3	1	1		1	1	1				
	1		2	2	4		1	2	4	4	3	2	1	2		2	2	5	3	3	2	2	1	3	4	1	1	3		3	2		1	2		
	0	16		14	4	25	13	16	16	19	6	25	1	17	1	2	2	12	2	17	2	3	1	3	1	20	3	12	7		8	1	2	1	3	
E Class	9	12		4	1		2				1				16	15	8	2	1		21	18	14	11*	8	2	18	11	9	23*	17	8	13	4	22	17
	8	5		1			4	3			1			1	2	4	1	4	2	1	2	1	2	4	2		4	2	3	1	3	6	7	2	3	8
	7	1		3		4	2	3							1		5	1	4		2	5	5	4	2		3	4	3	1	5	3	4	3	3	2
	6	7		5	1	5		2	1	1			3		4	2	3	1	3		1	1	5	4	3		1	2	3	1	2	3	2	3	1	
	5	3	1	2	2	4		1			2		4	1	4	3	1	1	7	4	10	4	1	1	2	1	1	3	2	1	1	2	1	3		1
	4		2	2	3	4	1	3	3	2	5		9	3	1	1	7	4	3	5	2	1	1	2	3	2	1	3	3	1		4	1	6		
	3	1	1	4	2	6	1	3	1	4	2	3	5	3	1	1	3	2	1	3	2	1	1	1	3	2	1	3	3	1		1	1	1	1	
	2		9	3	5		3	4	4	2	9	1	4	5	1	1	1	2	1	5		1	1	1	1	3						1	6			
	1		2	1	5	5	5	2		5	1	3	2	4			1	1	1	7	1	1		1	1	5		1					1			
	0	14	4	11		20	9	12	14	17	7	23	2	12		3		11		8				14		2	5			2						

* N = 28

O : ratings for Cognized-self
I : ratings for Ideal-self

TABLE 74
Distribution of Ratings for Cognized Self-picture and Ideal Self-picture
for Girls who Repeated the MPST (N=20)

Item	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		11		12		13		14		15		16		17		18	
	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I		
Grade VI	9	7	1	3		2		2	1				1		9	9*	4	2	1	1	11	10	12	10	4		7	1	7	15	7	5	13	6	14	12
	8	1		2		1		1				1		2	1	1		1		1	1	1	3	1		5	2	1	1	2	1	2	6	3	1	
	7	2					1							1	1	1		1		2	2		2	1		1	1	1		2	1	1		1	3	
	6	1	1			2		1		1	1						3		2				1			2		2		2	1	1		1	1	
	5	2	1	3		5		2	1				2	1	5	2	3	3	2		2	1	4	1	6	1	2	1	1	4	3		1	1		
	4	5	2	7	2	2	1	1	1	2		5		6	2	3	7	1	6	1		2	1		4		3	3	1	3	4	1	2			
	3	2		4		3	2	3	3	2	2	4	1	7	2	1	1	2	1	2	3	2	2		1		3		1				1		1	
	2		2	1		3	2	1	2	1		4	1	1	3		2	1	2	3	2	2		1	3		1	1	3		2					
	1		2			3	1	1	2	3	3	2	1	1	1		2	2	4	2	3	1	1		3	4	1	1			1	1	2			
	0		9		11	2	17	7	10	12	14	3	16	1	11			1	7	2	10	1	1	1	3	12	1	9	3			5		1		2
2 Class	9	10	1	4											9	9	3	2			15	11	10	6	6	2	13	9	8	17	13	8	11	2	15	14
	8	3		1				3					1		1	3	1	2	2	1			3	3	2		1	1	2	1	2	4	5	2	3	3
	7	1		2		4		4	1	1					1	1	5	1	3		1	4	3	3	2		3	2	1	1	4	2	2	3	1	1
	6	3		3		3		3	1				2		3	1	3	1	1			1	5	2	1		1	2			1	2				1
	5	2	1	1	2	4		4	1		2		4	1	4	3	1	1	6		1		1		5	1		2		1		2				1
	4		1	1	1	2		2	3	2	1	4		5	2	1	3	2	1	3	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	2			2		3	1	1	
	3	1	1	2	2	4	1	4	1		2	2	4	2	2		1	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	2			2		1			
	2		6	1	3	3	4	3		2	2	1	2	2	2		1	1		4		1	1		3								1	5	1	
	1		1	1	1	3	3			2	2	1	2	2	3				1	3	1	1		1	1	2		1								
	0	10	3	8		13		9	12	13	6	15	1	9		3		6		7			1		10		1	3			1					

* N = 20

O : ratings for Cognized-self

I : ratings for Ideal-self

the ideal self does not necessarily have the nicest clothes in the school, but at least the standard of dress should approach that of "the nicest";

However attitude towards spending money is, in both years, rather the reverse. Few E class girls wish to identify, or even closely approximate, their ideal self with the girl with the most spending-money - a significant change from the previous year. (Comparison of the numbers in the positive and negative halves of the scale for the two groups gives a Chi-square with $p < .05$).

On the other hand the girls are not content with the status quo of their spending money. The ideal self is seen as being closer to the stereotype of "the girl with the most spending money" than is the cognized self. Fifty-five per cent of the group in Grade VI and the whole of the group in E class rate the cognized self at the negative or "not-having" pole, but only 35 per cent in Grade VI and 60 per cent in E class think that ideally they should be as far from the stereotype as this.

In family relationships (items 6, 12, and 15), the subjects show considerable agreement in aspiration on items 6 (obedience to the mother) and 15 (annoyance with siblings). The ideal self is obedient to the mother

and not easily angered by siblings. But in the matter of how accepting of parental advice one should be, there is quite a range of opinion. Most girls in Grade VI appear to think they should usually be ready to accept parental advice: in E class fewer girls, though not significantly fewer, set this up as the ideal, and more see the ideal as being able to make one's own decisions. This trend would be compatible with the adolescent move towards independence. As Rolph Mussen (1962) points out, the parent has to be rejected because he is defined in the adolescent's mind as the person who keeps the adolescent feeling like a child and has become synonymous with the authority he exerted over the adolescent during childhood.

The remaining two items on which a rating of the ideal is given deal with attitudes to solitude, contemplativeness, and the inner world of fantasy. Almost all the girls at both years disclaim as ideal being cut off from companionship and participation in games activities in order to enjoy solitary contemplation (item 18). As to whether or not they would prefer, ideally, to live in a make-believe world with imaginary companions rather than in the world of real-life, opinions differ between the first and the

second testing. In Grade VI, 50 per cent of the girls think they would prefer the imaginary world of make-believe; in E class only 10 per cent think so, and the group as a whole has shifted its ratings towards the negative pole indicating that the ideal is to cope with the real world rather than to withdraw into fantasy.

The characteristics of the ideal self about which the subjects show most agreement are the same for both years. These are:-

Success in school attainment (item 3)

Enjoyment of parties (item 5)

Obedience to the mother (item 6)

Tolerance of siblings (item 15)

Rejection of quiet thinking past-times in favour of active participation in games (item 18).

2. Individual Changes in the Concept of the Ideal Self

Since the secondary school group is constituted mainly of the same girls who did the test in Grade VI, it is possible to see by comparing the responses of these who repeated the test, if, in spite of the overall similarity of the composite self-pictures given in the two years, individual conceptions of the ideal have shown much change and if this change has been consistent in direction

for the majority of the group.

Changes in individual concepts of the ideal may be expressed in any one or more of three ways: (a) change in the points of rating, (b) change in the direction or position of the rating on the scale (the ideal is rated nearer to one of the two poles), (c) the number of subjects making a change in their rating.

(a) Changes in the points of rating (Index of Shift);

That movement within the group is occurring is shown by the Index of Shift based on how much of the total possible change in ratings has been used at the second testing (Table 75).

Shift Indexes indicate that the amount of change in conception of the ideal is only small for the following aspects:- school achievement (item 3), obedience (item 6), annoyance with siblings (item 15), enjoyment at parties (item 5), desire for popularity (item 10). The greatest degree of fluidity in concepts of the ideal occurs in relation to: having more spending money than other girls (item 16), finding the make-believe world nicer than the real world (item 14), having lots of boy-friends (item 17), preferring to be a boy (item 11), being a leader (item 9).

TABLE 75

Shift Between Ideals : Grade VI and E Class

Girls N=20

Item	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 *	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Subject	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
2				2							2	1		5		8	1	6
3		3	3				4		1	4		1	5	9		9	5	
4	2		1		8		5			4			2	6		1	2	
5				4					1			2				7		6
6		2							8	2	3	7		3			5	1
7		9						1		6	5		7	7			4	
8		3		2		2	1	9		1	7				5		6	1
9		2		1		6			9			2		5	6	5		
10		3		2	3	1		3	2		3	8	3	1	3	1	2	
12	1		5	1	6		1		2		2		4	1	1		2	1
14		3		2	1	1		8	1	1	8	6	2	3	2		6	
16	2		5	1	5	7		4	7	2	3			2		3	2	2
17	2		1	2		4	1	4				3		6		4	4	2
18			2			2			2	1		3	1	4		2	2	
19	1		4											9		4	7	9
22	1			2		1	1	1	1		1	3	2	6		1	2	2
23		4			3		3	3		1	4	5	3	3	3	4	1	1
24									9		7		1	5		1	2	9
25		2	1	8	1		1	1	2	6	8		8	2	1	5	1	
26	2				6	9	3	8	4	1	4	1	1	1		1		1
Total No. of Shifts	7	7	7	6	6	2	6	5	6	2	5	2	7	3	7	4	6	7
Sign Test	.605	.500	.145	.500	.145	.227	.172	.274	.500	.387	.613	.059	.113	<.001	.363	.018	.048	.387
Binomial Test (1-tail)	.058	.132	.252	.412	.252	.132	.588	.412	.132	.252	.252	.021	.412	<.001	.252	.021	<.001	.252
Shift Index	.255	.201	.076	.306	.155	.101	.164	.294	.340	.193	.348	.325	.215	.539	.151	.446	.357	.246

* N = 18 # N = 17

+ indicates rating moved towards the stereotype

- indicates rating moved away from the stereotype

(b) The direction of change: (Sign Test): In items 14, 16, and 17, this is significantly in a specific direction (Table 75). For items 14 and 16 it is towards the positive pole and closer identification with the stereotype, and for item 17 it is towards the negative pole and rejection of the stereotype. Significantly more girls who change their aspirations want to be less like the girl with the most spending money and the girl who finds her satisfaction in the solitary world of imagination, and significantly more would, ideally, have many boy-friends.

(c) The number of subjects changing ratings: (Binomial and Chi-square tests): The number of subjects changing their opinions regardless of the degree or direction of the change is compared (Table 75). The items on which a significantly higher number of subjects ($p \leq .05$) do change their ratings of the ideal are:- being pretty (item 1), attitude to parental advice (item 12), superiority of the imaginary world (item 14), having most spending money (item 16), and possession of boy friends (item 17). (For item 1, p slightly exceeds the .05 level, that is, $p = .06$).

Combining these three types of indication of individual

changes of concept, the items on which significant changes of concept occur are:-

(i) item 3 which is basically stable but on which, when a shift does occur, the rating moves more often towards the positive pole; that is, towards a wish for good marks in schoolwork,

(ii) item 9 where changes in ratings have involved some fairly dramatic alterations (hence a high shift index), though not a significantly large number of subjects have changed their ratings nor are the changes consistently in one direction,

(iii) item 11 (envy of the boy's role) for which the same comments as for item 9 (above) apply,

(iv) item 12 in which there is a high shift index, a large number of subjects change their ratings, and there is a tendency (though just above the .05 level of significance) for the rating-changes to be more often towards the negative pole and away from readiness to accept parental advice.

(3) The Boys' Ideal Self-picture:

The composite picture of the ideal-self derived from each of the two testings is much the same for both full groups and for the smaller group of boys repeating the test

(Tables 76,77). The only aspects which suggest a difference in aspirations at Grade VI and E class level are items 5 (preference for the make-believe world) and 12 (acceptance of parental advice), and perhaps there is a tendency towards a differing attitude for items 10 and 13.

In the area of personal adequacy (items 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 11, 14), for three of the four items referring to intellectual attainment, the majority of the boys strongly favour an ideal-self with a high degree of adequacy. Most would like to get consistently high marks at school (item 4), to be the brightest boy - or thereabouts - in school (item 14), and axiomatically, not to be "dumb" in school work (item 11). (It is possible that the three who say they "would like to be the dumbest boy in the school" have misinterpreted the question and put their ratings at the wrong end of the scale. In fact, this seems probable on two or three occasions for different items.) However in attitude to reading (item 2), unlike the attitudes to the three other items relating to academic competence, the distribution of ratings indicates more divergent aspirations, and the group image splits. In Grade VI, 15 favour identification with "George" who likes to read; 10

rate the ideal in the negative half of the scale with 6 of these being completely antithetical to "George". In E class, 11 favour George as an ideal, 8 of them identifying with him; 15 are in the negative half of the scale with 12 antithetical. (Numbers at the positive extremes of the scale are significantly different at level $p < .05$.) The number rating at the "rejection" pole also increased in E class to a level where in comparison with Grade VI the difference borders on statistical significance ($.1 > p > .05$).

Physical prowess (item 1) and skill in sporting performance - specifically football - (item 3) are also desirable qualities almost unanimously approved by the group (that is, rated in the positive half of the scale), with approximately 70 per cent or more in both years wishing to identify completely or closely with the stereotype for these characteristics. However when it comes simply to knowledge of how to play various sports (item 7), there is a split, rather unexpected, in the Grade VI group. Though 20 out of 26 repudiate anything ideal about not knowing how to play baseball, football, basketball, the remaining minority of 6 say that their ideal is exactly this - to be a boy lacking such knowledge. Here

TABLE 76

Distribution of Ratings for Cognized Self-picture and Ideal Self-picture

Boys : total group (N=26)

	Item	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16																
		O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I																
Grade VI	9	4	1	3	5	1	2	1	16	13	12	6	15	20	3	3	8	5	14	10	16	21	13	14	12	8	5	1	23	23	13	20	
	8			1	1	2	1		2	2		1							2	3	1		2	2		2		1	23	2	1	2	
	7	1	1	1	1				3	3	1		1		2		1	1	2	3			2	2	1	1	1	1	1		2	1	
	6	1		1	1	1		1	1		1					1	1				1	2	1	2	1	1				2			
	5	3		2	3	2	1			3	5	2			2	3	3	2	1		5	1	1	2	1	1	2	2		1		2	
	4	4		3	1	6	2	6	3	3	1	3	2	3	5	1	3	2	2	1		1	1	1	3	2	2	3	1		1		
	3	1	3	1		2		5		1		1	4	2			3	2	2	1	1		2	1	1	1	5	4		3	1		
	2	3	1	1		5	2	4			1				1	2	3	2		1			1	1	1	1	3	3		2			
	1	6	5	4	3	3	2	3	1			2	1	2	2	4	3	2		2	1			1	1	1	3	3	2		1		
	0	2	13	8	12	4	18	4	19	1	3	1	9	2	4	8	13	2	10	5	8	2	3	3	4	2	6	3	15		4	3	
E Class	9	6	1	10	11	3	3			19	22	11	7	16	21		1	4	3	15	8	17	25	16	18	10	6*	2		23	23	12	18
	8			2	1	6				2	2	3	3	4	2		1	4	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	3		1	1	4	4
	7	1	1	4	1	1		1				3	3	1	1	1	2	3		2	2	5		2	2	2	2	2		2	2	1	2
	6	3	1	2	2	4		6				1	1	1	1		1	9		1		1		2	1	3	2	3				1	
	5	6	1	2	1	3		3		1	1	4	3	3		2		1	2		3	1		3	1	2	3	5	1		1	1	
	4	2	2	2	1		1	4	1	1	1		3	3		7		3	2		1		2	2	3	3	3	4	1		1		
	3		2	1	1	5	2	2	1			3	2			2	3	3	2	2					1	1	1	3	3		3		
	2	2	3		1	1	1	3	3			2	1		1	5		3	5						1	1	3	3	3		1	1	
	1	3	8	1	4	2	7	6	4	1			3			5	9	1	4	4	2				1	1	3	3					1
	0	3	7	2	4	1	12	1	17			3				1	10		7		1		1		1	1	3	1	12		3		

* N = 26

C : ratings for Cognized-self

I : ratings for Ideal-self

TABLE 77
Distribution of Ratings for Cognized Self-picture and Ideal Self-picture
for Boys who Repeated the MPST (N=19)

	Item	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		11		12		13		14		15		16	
		O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I	O	I
Grade VI	9	1	1	3	4	1		1	1	11	7	8	4	11	15	2	3	6	4	8	5	11	14	6	8	8	4	8	1	16	16	9	14
	8			1	1	2	1			2	2		1							2	3	1	1	2	1		2		2	2	1	2	
	7	1	1	1						3	3	1		1		2							2		1		1		1		2		
	6			2	1			1	1		1	1		1		1		1				1	2	1	2	1	1				1		
	5	3			2	1	1				3	3	1			2	2	2	1	1		5	1	1	2	1	2	1		1			
	4	4		2	1	4	1	4	2	3		2	2	1		4	1	2	2	1	1		2	1	5	1	3	3					
	3	1	2	1		1		4				1	3	1		1		3		2	1		1	1	1	2	1						
	2	2	1			4	1	3								1	1	2	2		2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2			1		
	1	4	4	2	2	3	1	3	1			2		2	1	3	3	2	2					1	1	1	1	2			1		
	0	2	8	7	8	3	14	2	13		3	1	8	2	3	4	8	1	8	5	7		2	3	4	2	5	2	9		4	3	
8 Class	9	4	1	7	7	1	1		1	14	16	7	6	13	15		1	2	2	9	5	13	13	12	13	9	5	1		17	17	10	13
	8			2	1	3	1			1	2	2		2	1		1			2	1	1	1		1	2	1	2		2	2	2	
	7	2	1	3		1		1				3	3	1	1	1	2	2		2	1	3		2	2	1	2	2		2	2	1	2
	6	2		1	3			5					1	1	1	1	1	8		1	1	1		1	1	2	1	2	2			1	
	5	4	1	1	1	3		2				4	2	2		1			1		3	1		1	1	1	1	3	1		1	1	
	4	1	2	2	1		1	1	1	1	1		1			6		1	2					2	1	2	2	2			3		
	3		1	2	1	3	2	1	1			2	1			1	2	2	3		2				1	1	2	4	2		3	1	
	2	2	2			1	1	3	3			1			1	4		3	2		4				1	1	2	3			1	1	
	1	2	7		2	2	3	6	1	1			2			3	7	1	2	5	1					1	3		4				
	0	2	4	1	3	1	10		12			3				1	6		7				1		1	1		8			1		

* N = 19
C : ratings for Cognized-self
I : ratings for Ideal-self

again one wonders if this is a mistaken marking of what they intended and if these 6 boys really meant the opposite claim for the ideal as made by the rest of the subjects and compatible with the admiration generally expressed of skill in sport. Certainly in B class every boy except one rates the ideal in the negative half of the scale, that is, disowning a wish to be the sort of boy "who doesn't know how" about sport. It could even be that they have confused the question, that they have seen the question not as asking "do I not wish to know how to play" with the question "do I not wish to play football," and that they are rejecting the idea of playing rather than the idea of knowing how to play. However it cannot be stated categorically that they have made an error even though the ratings on this item seem incompatible with the ideals indicated on items 1 and 3.

With regard to traits associated with social adequacy - items 6, 9, and 10 referring respectively to leadership, popularity, and having girl-friends - aspirations vary considerably. In popularity (item 9) however, a significant majority of the subjects, in both years, express a desire to be above average, though there is less emphasis in B class

on being the most popular boy. There appears also to be a change taking place in the attitude to leadership. The distributions of ratings of the two years on this item suggest that while there is not much change in the numbers at the negative pole, there is a general shift away from the positive pole of identification and a flattening of the distribution. This may indicate a realistic recognition that most of the boys cannot hope to achieve more than average leadership and perhaps also a recognition that outstanding leadership singles one out for uncomfortable limelight and responsibility.

To live in a make-believe world devoted to fantasy (item 5) is not an ideal to which they aspire in either year, and everyone says he much prefers playing real games to daydreaming (item 15). Total rejection of the make-believe world is expressed more frequently in B class (18 compared with 24, $p < .05$).

The ideal ranking for spending-money is a very individual matter. In Grade VI the boys tend to locate their ideal in a fairly even division near each of the two extremes; in B class the spread along the scale is a little more even. Perhaps possession of more money than

one's fellows is also seen as tending to isolate one uncomfortably from the group.

There is overwhelming agreement that the ideal boy does not fight readily with his siblings, and considerable though not quite such marked agreement that he is obedient to his mother and willing to accept parental advice. It appears that whatever changes have been made by the subjects in their individual concepts of the ideal self, there is little change in the composite image of the ideal self. Using the responses of the boys who repeated the Test, changes in ratings made by individuals in the group are reviewed.

(4) Individual changes in the concept of the ideal self.

Individual boys have changed their concepts of the ideal self:

(a) Change in points of rating (Index of Shift): In a comparison of the ideals of the boys in Grade VI and E class, the items which show the greatest degree of fluidity are numbers 2, 6, 12, 5, and 9. For all of these the high Index of Shift results from both the amount of shift made by the boys individually and the large number of boys who changed their ratings of the ideal on these items. The average change in rating per boy is, for item 2, 5.72 points;

item 12, 5.64 points; item 6, 5.47 points; and for items 9 and 15 a rather slighter change - namely 4.36 points, and 3.75 points respectively. The items which show the highest degree of reliability over the two years, in the sense that there is little fluidity, are numbers 15 and 16.

(b) Change in the direction of the rating: In the case of three aspects of the ideal (items 1, 5, and 13), such shift as there is tends to show consistent direction. For items 5 (preference for the make-believe world) and 13 (possession of more spending money), the shift is predominantly away from the stereotype; that is, rejection of the stereotype as an ideal. This is obvious at a glance from Table 78. For item 5, compared with only 7 who put their ratings of the ideal at the extreme opposite of the stereotype in Grade VI, there are 16 who rate the ideal in this position in the next year. In the matter of the amount of spending money (item 13) the rating of the ideal is only slightly further towards the negative pole - 7 of the 12 move their ratings only one point closer, 2 move their ratings three points, one moves four points, and 2 move seven points; so the movement is consistent in direction but not generally big. For item 1 (strength and size)

TABLE 78
Shift Between Ideals : Grade VI and E Class
Boys N=19

Item	1 *	2	3	4 x	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13 x	14	15	16
Subject	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
2	1					2	5		8	6	7	2	6			1
3		4	4			9		9	2	9		9	1	4		2
5	1			9	5	8		9		9		9	1	6		
6	1	8			1	1	6		1		2			8		1
7		4	1	2		2	1	5		4		4	2			1
8		6				9	9									
10		9				8		9	8		9	9		1	1	4
12	1	2		3		6	3		2					1	2	9
13	1	4	1			4	7	4		1		7	3		1	2
15			7	3		1	2		3	1		6	1			
16	6		5	8	9	1			6							
17	1		1		1	4	3	5	3	6		3	3	5	1	1
18	8		9		1		6	3	2	1		2		1		
19				3	4	4	9	7	1	3	1	3	1	3	2	4
20	1					2	3		3	1	1			7		
21	2		9	2	2	1	5	8	2	3		9		1	1	
23	4	6							1	9		5		7		
25	1		6			3	7	5				7		1		
26			5			4	5	1		5		9		4		
Total No. of Shifts	1 11	5 9	3 6	5 3	3 13	4 11	2 4	5 10	6 8	5 10	1 4	5 9	4 12	6 8	2 3	5 3
Sign Test	.005	.090	.254	.363	.011	.059	.344	.151	.395	.151	.188	.212	.038	.395	.500	.363
Binomial Test (1-tail)	.072	.032	.500	.324	.002	.01	.084	.01	.032	.01	.032	.032	.001	.032	.032	.324
Shift Index	.143	.522	.189	.182	.405	.550	.265	.384	.399	.344	.159	.513	.324	.259	.061	.126

* N=17 x N=18

+ indicates rating moved towards the stereotype

- indicates rating moved away from the stereotype

for which 12 of the 17 boys changed their opinion (p just exceeds .05), the direction of change is consistently towards the stereotype - 11 of the 12 move in this direction. Apparently in the second year strength and capability in a fight are regarded as just that little bit more desirable in the ideal self. But again this shift is not large individually; 8 of the 11 boys rate the ideal only one point closer to the stereotype than in the previous year.

(c) The numbers of subjects changing ratings: The characteristics for which only a few individuals have changed their ratings are only two in number, namely "dumbness in school work (item 11), and solitary make-believe (item 15). "Dumbness in school work" is already established in Grade VI as a trait undesirable in the ideal self, and few boys have changed this point of view a year later. Similarly solitary make-believe (item 15) is rejected as an ideal behaviour by most boys in Grade VI, and remains rejected by the same boys 15 months later. On item 7 there are only 6 ($p = .084$) who change their previous ratings on the acceptability of a boy who lacks knowledge of baseball, football, and basketball. Of these 4 completely reverse their ratings and add themselves to

those who reject lack of knowledge of the major sports as ideal.

Characteristics for which there are a significantly large number of individual changes (i.e. greater than a 50/50 chance of change) are those expressed in items 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14. So for 10 of the 15 - that is, two-thirds - of the characteristics to be rated there is a large number of individual changes in the concept of the ideal no matter how stable the composite picture given by the group appears to be. In comparison with only 5 out of 18 characteristics on which a significant majority of the girls change their ratings (Chi-square = 4.94, $p < .05$), the boys show a greater degree of intra-personal change in their concepts of the ideal than the girls do. However with the exception of items 5 and 13 the changes in the ratings have a random pattern, that is, there is no consistent move made by the subjects towards either of the poles.

Comparison of Cognized Self and Ideal Self
(Tables 73, 74, 76, 77)

It is obvious that for most boys and girls at both times of testing there are changes, as expressed by the different ratings for the ideal-self-picture, that they

would like to make in the cognized selves.

No subject is so discontented with his cognized self as to wish to change every detail he is asked to consider. However for only a few characteristics are most subjects so satisfied with their present image that the ideal is rated by the significant majority as like the cognized self.

For the girls lack of envy of the boy's role (item 11) is one characteristic on which the ideal self and the cognized self of most girls agree at both testings. Most of them rate the cognized self as fairly free of envy and imitation of the male, though every one of the few that indicates some envy sees the ideal as less envious. In Grade VI most of the girls are also content with their current attitude to parental direction and ask little or no difference in the ideal; but in the secondary school group the ideal is seen as less submissive than the real self.

Most of the boys in both years are content with the cognized self's readiness to accept parental advice and so aspire to no difference in the ideal. Similarly ratings on rejection of the fantasy world are almost without

TABLE 79

Items on which Significantly Large Numbers of
Subjects Rate Cognized Self-picture and Ideal
Self-picture Differently ($p \leq .05$)

Item	Detail	Number rating differently	
		Grade VI	E Class
Girls (N=29)	1 prettiest girl in the school	25	23
	2 playing ball games and swimming as well as any boy	25	29
	3 getting good marks in school	27	25
	6 obedient to mother	22	20
	7 nicest clothes in the school	22	21
	9 being a leader	23	26
	10 most popular girl in school	25	23
	13 brightest girl in school	27	22
	14 having lots of boy friends	19*	23
Boys (N=26)	1 being big, strong, good fighter	19	18
	3 best football player in school	20	21
	4 getting good marks in school work	20	25
	8 obedient to mother	15*	22
	9 most popular boy in school	17*	20
	13 having more spending money than other boys	16*	21
	14 brightest boy in the school	21	24

* not significant

exception, identical for the cognized self and ideal self. In Grade VI they are, similarly, content with their current status in girl-friends, but not the next year.

More often however a significantly large number of both boys and girls do wish to be different.

Individual changes on the items tend, for all four groups, to be consistent in direction for the specific group, the ideal most often being rated nearer to the stereotype than is the cognized self. (Sign Test, one tailed.) (See Table 80)

Combining and summarising these two sets of findings, the relationship of the ideal self to the cognized self may be stated in general terms:-

- A) for Girls: Most girls in both Grade VI and E class groups agree in wanting an ideal self which is
- prettier and better dressed
 - more popular and more of a leader
 - intellectually brighter and a better school achiever
 - more nearly as competent as boys in sport
 - more obedient to the mother
 - to have more boy friends (E class only)

B) for Boys: Most boys in both Grade VI and E class

groups agree in wanting an ideal self which is

bigger, stronger, and a better fighter

more expert at football

intellectually brighter and a better school achiever

more obedient to the mother (E class only)

better endowed with spending money (E class only).

TABLE 80

Direction of Changes of Ratings from Cognized Self-picture to Ideal Self-picture

Girls:

Item Number	Grade VI			Sign test p	E Class			Sign test p
	Direction of Change				Direction of Change			
	Direction not consistent	Towards the stereotype	Away from the stereotype		Direction not consistent	Towards the stereotype	Away from the stereotype	
		1		<.001		1		<.001
		2		<.001		2		<.001
		3		<.001		3		<.001
		4		.02	4			.15
5				.06		5		.01
		6		<.001		6		<.001
		7		<.001		7		<.001
8				.61		8		.046
		9		.001		9		<.001
		10		.001		10		<.001
11				.11		11		.016
12				.50		12		.018
		13		<.001		13		<.001
		14		<.001		14		.04
			15	<.001			15	<.001
		16		.004		16		.001
17				.07		17		<.001
18				.38	18			.19

(Table continued on next page)

TABLE 80 (cont.)

Boys:

Grade VI								
Direction of Change								
Item Number	Direction of Change			Sign test p	Direction of Change			Sign test p
	Direction not consistent	Towards the stereotype	Away from the stereotype		Direction not consistent	Towards the stereotype	Away from the stereotype	
		1		.02		1		<.001
2				.133	2			.133
		3		<.001		3		<.001
		4		.006		4		<.001
5				.274	5			-
		6		<.001		6		.004
7				.50	7			.09
8				.304		8		<.001
		9		.011		9		<.001
		10		.035		10		.004
			11	.02			11	.002
12				.23	12			.363
		13		.038		13		.013
		14		.039		14		.001
15				-	15			-
			16	.046			16	<.001

CHAPTER XV

Summary

CHAPTER XV

CHAPTER XV

Let us attempt to weave together the findings from the material supplied by the children in their conscious evaluations or inferred from their conscious or unconscious projections which may reveal dynamics of their overt behaviour - needs, guilt, wish-fulfilment, deepest feelings.

For each group is reviewed first the composite picture of the cognized self which may be coloured by the subjects' distortions, evasions, self-deceptions, but which is presented as the reflection of the face these children show to the world at this stage and on this occasion. Then follows the "modus vivendi" (Rapaport, 1942) as externalized in response to the picture-stimuli and for sake of convenience termed the "projected-self". In the course of doing this, differences in the self-pictures for the sexes and the educational stages are indicated.

Grade VI Girls: The Cognized Self Picture

The Grade VI girls are at a stage of overt acceptance of their sex role and absence of masculine envy, accompanied

by a belief in their inferiority to males in certain physical attributes such as strength and motor-skill. Not all are content to resign themselves to this inferior level of endowment; several would like to be bigger, stronger, better at games; but there are other more prevalent wishes. They are satisfied that they are as good as most females in physical appearance, looks, clothes, and motor-skill. Their main problems in the area of physical development and well-being are problems of health: they complain of headaches, troubles with their teeth and eyes. These may be accompaniments of puberty and indications of consequent discomfort.

There is evidence of much more striving and anxiety in the intellectual field although the majority of their self-ratings are not markedly low. All of them would like to be brighter and to have better school marks, and for at least half of them this is a major wish. The area of School and the area of Self-Concerns are, equally, the most frequent sources of their problems on the Check List. Their problems are personal issues such as having difficulties with arithmetic and writing and disliking school, which reveal an awareness of their inadequacy

and a sense of psychological discomfort or unhappiness in the school situation.

Their second area of striving is the social one where they try hard to be liked. They accredit themselves with some success here. They say they have friends and are generally liked but still worry about being teased and about personal shortcomings, particularly nervousness, making mistakes, and being indecisive. In their social world, still largely confined to their own sex, not many of them think they have achieved outstanding recognition. Few see themselves as leaders or as really popular; on possession of these two characteristics they rate themselves from a little above average along to complete denial. But this does not seem to upset them; so long as they are generally accepted and have the secure affection of a few close friends they do not hanker for widespread popularity and influence. They are gregarious and have a lively enjoyment of parties and active, but not rough, games, and relatively little liking for solitude and the fantasy world. Within the family they regard themselves as submissive, obedient, usually ready to accept advice and direction, even preferring to be told how to do things. They feel some

irritation with, and tend to detach themselves from their siblings, but on the whole the family situation is presented as a happy one creating very few problems and within which the parents accept them as warmly as the rest of the family. A hint - a very mild one - at the beginnings of conflict with parents may lie in the fact that few of them feel that they measure up to the ideal child visualized by their parents.

In brief, they are fairly adequate, active, and outgoing. Their greatest anxiety is their fear of failure or loss of face in a group situation whether scholastic or social. Their orientation is mainly social and their concern is with the immediate present and its immediate difficulties. The future, in the sense of being an adult, is attractive but vague, and about money and careers they worry not at all beyond puzzlement over choosing their course in the secondary school.

The projected self picture. Inadequacy is a recurrent characteristic in the child characters (accepted as projections of the subjects' selves) portrayed in the Michigan Picture Test Stories, though it is relatively infrequent and mild in relation to physical qualities.

There are, on the contrary, some aspects of the physical self which reveal an adequacy not apparent in the pictures of the cognized self. Physical adequacy of the "brute strength" variety, of motor-skill in competitive activities, and even of beauty, seem to be of little interest and concern and are seldom mentioned. But the projected selves exhibit a resilience and stamina and stoicism in the face of pain or discomfort which was not revealed in the conscious self-estimates. This fortitude seems to be a component of an emotional strength underlying the capacity for physical suffering.

Intellectual inadequacy is a more permeating disadvantage and is frequently conspicuous. School appears time and time again as the locale for working out role and status. It is an arena for frequent conflicts and emotional upsets. It seems to be regarded primarily as a place of present or imminent failure. It is not surprising that it gets such an amount of mention and attention since half or more than half of the childrens' waking time is spent there. It is the kind of attention that it gets that is of interest. The girls seldom seem to see it as a place where one succeeds: capacities and skills are seldom sufficient to meet

satisfactorily the demands of the classroom, and the teacher is more often impersonal, adverse and punitive than helpful and warmly responsive. This picture of the child in a school situation is in keeping with the conscious anxiety signified by the amount of problem-checking in the school area on the Check List, but indicates much greater insecurity than is acknowledged or implied in the childrens' self-ratings of their intellectual fibre and academic or scholastic success. Intellectual inferiority or inadequacy is not confined to the classroom. It is part of the sex role - the female is inferior to the male. So even in games of strategy played by a heterosexual group the girl is seldom the winner.

Inadequacy of an even more severe and disturbing sort hampers the projected self. This is inadequacy in the face of a hostile environment or of accidents of fate. Inadequacy of endowment seems relatively comprehensible and easily dealt with - goals are shifted or denied, extra effort is called up, outside assistance is given; but threats from without are unexpected or unavoidable; they are inescapable; they produce anxiety. They appear in the stories as threats to the self's integrity, as

circumstances which isolate or injure or separate the individual from a secure and known society and environment. Probably the events symbolize and incorporate the inevitable processes of maturation with its urge to break away from dependence and to establish the right of self-direction - processes which require losing or breaking the earlier role of relative helplessness and involve an implicit, even if only partial, rejection of the parents, and which, therefore, produce feelings of guilt and need for punishment. The basic components of the stories of inadequacy-through-deprivation are inevitability, poverty, isolation, destruction. The individual may be psychologically isolated though in a social group, the child recognising her isolation and inadequacy in spite of attempts of others to help her. She appears to feel that she has no resources on which to call in these situations; she is indecisive (indecision is a major problem marked by these girls on the Check List); parental support is no longer adequate or competent to solve the situation.

This sense of being cut off from efficacious help does not mean that the parents are seen as rejecting. They are not. They - the mother especially - are seen usually as

loving, accepting persons, but the girl's response to this is not a simple return of acceptance. In her reactions to the parents there is a great deal of withdrawal or holding back, and consequently the result is a separation imposed by the girl herself between herself and her parents. This withdrawal is not always apparent in her overt behaviour, because where the parent intervenes or disciplines, she is likely to adopt an appearance of submission and reform. That is, she appears to reciprocate or to accept the parental attitude, but underlying this - and equally often in her attitude to other adults - there is a basic withdrawal response. So that in spite of the appearance of conformity, obedience and submissiveness that she consciously credits herself with having, her basic dynamics include conflict with the adult world and disturbance or hurt or confusion occasioned by the process of becoming an adult.

Between herself and the adults in her wider social world, often typified by the teacher, she feels the lack of the emotional bond which exists between parent and child. The "outside" adult is seen most often as detached and unsympathetic, a wielder of power to whom she responds in some cases by overt submission, in others by defiance and

denial of a typically feminine sort - by irritating behaviour, not openly resentful, but flighty, unpredictable, frivolous, or unco-operative - which leaves the situation unresolved. She seems to want, but to lack, a physical outlet for tensions which arise from clashes with this impersonal sort of authority, and to see in corporal punishment a cleansing catharsis which is denied her by the culture, so that, consequently, an undercurrent of nervous tension persists. There is an obvious feeling of a need for support. It was present in the cognized self-picture in her problems of indecisiveness, fear of failure, and her strong wish to be accepted. In the projected self it is apparent in the way in which she turns to the parents even though they prove inadequate to help in the situation, and in the warmth with which she responds to sympathetic co-operative treatment from the teacher or the outside adult - a person who can often offer help that can be more readily accepted than that offered by the parent - as is a recognised tenet in guidance.

In heterosexual situations she is more comfortable in a group than in a pair situation. In the group situation there is little ill-feeling or tension although there may

be a good deal of competition in which the boy usually wins. In the pair situation there appears to be much more stress, much more vivid emotionalism. If the pair situation is a hostile one, this seems to provoke an effort to dominate; if it is a co-operative one then she reverts to the submissive, dependent, feminine-inferiority role.

The picture of the projected self is rather different from the picture of the cognized self. Anxiety and uncertainty are related less to the physical or tangible person and more to emotions, roles, status, and interpersonal relationships. There is much more indication of conflict with, and lack of support from, the adult world. There is evidence of readiness for, or capacity to deal with, the heterosexual situation that does not come out in the assessment of the cognized self. The heterosexual groups seems, in fact, to be a good situation for practising co-operation and to be manageable and supportive at this stage, but it has one fairly obvious disadvantage in that in it she tends to sink her potentiality for leadership and for success in an acquiescence to the superiority of the male.

E Class Girls : The Cognized Self Picture

The self-picture of the E class girl differs a little

from that given in Grade VI. There is still much emphasis on inadequacies; in some ways this feeling seems to be stronger than in Grade VI in that the girls rate themselves lower on desirable attitudes than in the Grade VI year. With this increase in self-criticism there is also some change in attitudes, needs, and goals. Acceptance of the sex role is more pronounced than before: they reject tomboyish behaviour more definitely, deny any wish to be treated as a boy by boys, more girls dislike watching or participating in rough games, and they still rate themselves as inferior to boys in certain activities such as sport. It is a quite feminine picture. The physical qualities they worry about appear to be related to their striving for acceptance and success. They want to be more attractive, they want to be liked, most of them crave to be prettier, and their chief problems of this sort are that they are not good looking and that they are too fat or too thin. There is little suggestion that they have any intention of competing seriously with boys in the area of strength and skill.

In estimates of intelligence they are very realistic: the majority rate themselves round about the middle of the school's entire population. Streamed classes, it might be

thought, would give them an elevated idea of their potential because of their comparatively less failure in school work. This is obviously not so. Possibly they realize the difference in the qualities of the "streams", and probably too their contact with a wider group of peers and with older and established and successful children already in the secondary school has helped towards a more realistic self-assessment; certainly in E class girls claim less likeness to the brightest girl in the school than they did in Grade VI. Perhaps too this realization of mediocrity has helped to stimulate the wish for greater beauty, on the grounds that their chances of intellectual success are limited and they might be able to achieve greater success by concentration on personal appearance. However, they obviously feel their lack of intellectual potential; the wish for greater scholastic ability is only slightly less than the wish for greater prettiness. School remains a "king-size" area for problems though even into this area has come a social element: one of their major problems is the fear of speaking up in class, which implies, of course, being brought into the limelight and not always happily.

The most obvious change in the picture of the cognized

self is the concentration of interest in and anxiety about what is called in the Check List "Self-Concerns". These are essentially self qualities which make for desirability or undesirability in other people's estimation. This area has become the chief source of problems and taken in conjunction with the significant increase in BG problems which are virtually problems of heterosexual society and peer relationships, the concern for social acceptance has conspicuously increased. Like the boys, they resent restrictions on their freedom to mix with their peers and to indicate their independence of the home and their growing maturity, so they rate as problems "not being allowed to go out at night", "not being allowed to go out with boyfriends", "learning to dance".

Their attention is not entirely focussed on the peer group. They want to establish and to enhance their place in the general social structure; they want to be liked by old and young; more often than in the previous year they try hard to be liked and fewer say they don't care if they are not liked. The same attitude and striving appears to be present in the family society where the girls claim that their attitude to their siblings is more tolerant and more

accepting than in Grade VI, and more of them say they are proud if their siblings are commended. The need to establish a place for themselves in the maturing heterosexual group outside the home could be expected to lead to parent-child conflict at home. This is not so, or is not recognized, or is not admitted, since, as in the Grade VI year, they mark few problems - and these are individual matters not concerned with parent-child conflict - in the Home and Family area of the Check List. There is, however, a slight change of attitude to the parents in that they do not assert the existence of quite such complete obedience or willingness to accept parental advice as they did in Grade VI although they counter this a little by their claim to measure closer to the ideal daughter chosen by their parents.

The self-picture of the E class girl then is that of a lively, slightly less assured, but more realistic person than in Grade VI; a girl who is afraid of failure in school but probably even more afraid of looking silly; a girl looking for social recognition and aware of and wanting to impress her peers in a heterosexual group. The relatively remote future of the post-school and job world is of little

concern, her time-space and her problems are largely confined to the present as they were in Grade VI. Lack of interest in job getting and job-selection is not unexpected in this area and this school, because these girls come from homes which are not generally career-girl ambitious, where a job is regarded as a way of filling in time before and after marriage, since the "real job" for a girl is to be a girl and to marry successfully.

The projected self picture. The sense of incompetence persists. Inadequacy in specific school subjects, especially arithmetic, is a bugbear, but social isolation is worse. It produces mildly depressive sorts of states which reduce competency further. The isolation, inadequacy, and helplessness are apparent in the themes of deprivation which are as frequent in E class as they were in Grade VI, but which are rather more concentrated on parent-child relationships: the child is lost, the parents are lost, the doll is broken. They seem to state fairly blatantly a deep sense of disruption. The girl feels lost or injured in her relationship to her parents and within herself; she no longer identifies with her parents, nor do they understand her, and her role of dependent child is irreparably shattered.

She may ask for assistance but it is usually either not forthcoming or unsuccessful, and it is only in the effulgence of time that the situation cures itself. The sense of alone-ness is accentuated by the number of themes in which the girl makes no attempt to appeal to adults for help, or where, when adult help is willingly offered, the distance between her situation and adult understanding is so great that adult intervention appears more in the nature of an intrusion than of assistance, even though she is able to recognize that it is well-intentioned. She is beginning to look to the peer group as a source of strength though this orientation is not yet marked. She may be alienated from the parents but she does not regard them, at least not yet, as antagonistic: in themes which are not deprivation themes - that is, presumably, when she is not working out the problems of physiological-sexual maturation - she seeks parental help and values it very much.

The mother is almost always seen as having an accepting and helpful attitude, so much so that the relationship between the mother and the girl seems to need little exploration and is stated rather than explored. This does not apply to the father with whom relationships are explored

and worked out. He seems to present to her two faces, that of the father, a rather remote disciplinarian figure, and that of the male whose approbation and regard she wants and to whom her attention is now directed. It is with the father in this latter role that she tends to work out the relationship most elaborately as though explaining to herself that she is looking for male support and is seeking to reassure herself that she will get it.

In the world of her peers it is in the situations where there are male peers that she comes to life most. Although the peer situations are more often co-operative than conflicting, when conflict does occur it is usually in the mixed-pair situation where the exchange of feeling is vividly and intensely projected.

Attitude to authority outside the home - usually depicted as vested in the teacher - shows little change. Such adults are primarily in conflict with her, or she with them, although not quite so frequently as was the case in Grade VI. However, again the reactions to adults are rather more emotional and personalised than they were in Grade VI. For example she displaces the unpleasantness of failure in the classroom situation on to the teacher so

that her own inadequacies are externalized, personalised, hated, and rejected. Over the whole range of stories there is little more hostility expressed than in the preceding year - but there is a change in the qualities or character of the hostility expressed or in the reactions to it.

Because of the intensified emotional tone, increasing interest in male peers, the lively conflict and resentment that can arise in the mixed pair situation, it seems that there is some valid reason for breaking away from entirely co-educational instruction in E class. And where co-educational instruction remains, it seems preferable that the girls should work very much in a group situation so that the group can provide support and protective colouring. Organization which produces mixed-pairs or singles out the girl so that she feels isolated, are likely to be fraught with emotion not conducive to a healthy learning situation.

Grade VI Boys : The Cognized Self Picture

In spite of the expectation that adolescent boys are likely to behave more a-socially and anti-socially than girls, these Grade VI boys depict themselves as socially conforming.

The projected self-picture suggests that they are, in fact, probably more role-conforming than socially-conforming.

They appear to have a definite sense of their masculinity; they admire physical power; they consider they come closer to fulfilling the father's than the mother's ideal. Their most obvious goals are set in those areas in which success seems to be most admired by the culture - in physical power and motor activities. Intellectual success is a much less popular goal than physical success. Since admiration of physical pre-eminence is part of the culture to which they belong, they are, in their almost universal, and often primary desire to be stronger and physically more successful, accepting the ideal masculine role set up by the bulk of society.

Success in competition is important. In ranking their own endowments in absolute terms they indicate that they think pretty well of themselves, that they are "well up" in their peer group in physical strength, intellectual ability and success, knowledge. But when they have to rate themselves for expectation of success in competition their estimates tend to be lower. Confrontation with the reality inherent in a competitive situation produces a

self-criticism which is otherwise lacking. They are also concerned with material possessions and personal freedom and status, but in contrast to the girls, ^{show} relatively little concern with emotional development and social inter-relationships. This is again in keeping with the general pattern of the culture which often measures a boy's success in terms of the amount of money he makes and the degree of personal liberty he obtains, and a girl's success in terms of marriage and her ability to hold down a relatively undemanding or unskilled job in her spare time before and after marriage. The boys' problems then are, primarily problems in the MWP area because these are problems of status and success. Where problems are focussed on the school they are concerned with the school not as an area of intellectual competition but as an authority which can restrict their freedom and delay their establishment of status. They resent the regimentation of the school timetable and of rigid classrooms.

In social relationships, both those of the home and outside, the boys indicate little that they worry about: areas HF and PQ on the Check List have the lowest scores of checks, and even in the area BG which could indicate

a social awareness, the problems they mark are those that impinge on the restriction and direction of their leisure time and activities. Their social relationships are apparently regarded as comfortable and are accepted uncritically. Nor is there any apparent anxiety about lack of popularity or leadership in both of which they assess themselves as being pretty much like the other fellows. Perhaps this is because their lively and consuming interest in physical activities encourages participation in organized games which provides them with a "safe" framework of social relationships and roles and keeps them busy without requiring them to expose, even to themselves, their innermost feelings, or to be deeply critical of themselves. They reckon themselves moderately obedient - more often obedient than not - and submissive, but there are signs of their wanting independence of action. In this sense, therefore, they depict themselves as socially conforming in that they have accepted the values of society and are amenable to the conditions and regulations of home.

To summarise, they see themselves as lively, happy in the group, interested in material goals, admiring physical

success and prowess. They are not critical of themselves; their criticism is directed toward restrictions and material limitations which seem to reduce their status. Competition can be a potent motivation to self-criticism and realistic self-assessment.

The Projected Self Picture

The projected self is a less socially-conforming self than the cognized-self and exhibits more of the socially-expected rebellion and antagonism. There is an overt social conformity in the child's assumption of inferiority to the adult and weakness in the face of danger although this latter is sometimes rationalized by the introduction of a temporary physical handicap. Covertly there are indications of a drive towards, and of feelings of more competence than the adult world is inclined to accept. This is in keeping with the picture of the cognized self in which the boy rates himself as essentially physically adequate, except under the threat of competition. The projected self is in competition with adults or with a rather amorphous total society, rather than with peers. Competition takes the form of persistent hostility between authority and child, and so in spite of the outward appearance of

conformity and of the boy's conscious picture of a conforming self, he seems actually to be a great deal more at loggerheads with society than in harmony with it. Antagonism is almost inevitably part of his relationship with adults. Often it takes the form of active aggression on the part of both the child and the adult, some of the aggression being entirely unprovoked or at least without any indication of immediate precipitating causes. For example, stealing is an aggression against society which stems from no stated or implied provocations. For all his antagonism, the boy is not strong enough to withstand pressures of society or to defeat society; under attack he tends to bluster and cover up, then to lapse into an attitude of passive conformity. The most frequent and telling forms of punishment - which he seems to expect "to follow as the night the day" - are deprivations of privileges and liberties. In anxiety about freedom and status, the cognized-self and projected-self share common ground. Punishment cannot, however, be relied on to produce a change of attitude on the part of the projected self; the conforming behaviour may be simply a matter of overt lip service paid to adult demands. Conflict, antagonism, punishment appear to produce less sustained emotional

tension in the boys than does conflict with society in the girls. Expiation through punishment reduces feelings of guilt, or conflict is met with conflict and this exchange of equal attitudes appears to balance out the matter so that neither party remains resentful.

Intellectual pre-eminence and achievement are relatively unimportant just as they are in the picture of the cognized self in which the boy rates himself as adequate or successful. There is little evidence that conflict can be resolved intellectually.

Social relationships within the family are better than those outside the home even though the prevailing belief is that parents are neither constant nor just in their relationships to their sons. The chief, though not the sole, role of the mother is to be accepting, but the father's relationships are seen as being fairly evenly divided between acceptance and some form of detachment from the boy. This may reflect a confusion in the boys' minds of their relationships to the father ranging from admiration of, and identification with him to competition. However, identification itself produces competition, the boy wanting to model himself on and assume the authority role of the

father. Failure to achieve this authority may be displaced on to the father as an attitude of paternal rejection. The boy's attitudes to the parents are often projected as, basically, power-struggles which become aborted through his own inadequacy so that he falls into a submissive state.

Relationships with male peers tend to be co-operative; even where competition exists, it is without hostility. Relationships with girl peers are either tolerant but without affection, or are power contests in which the boy tends to dominate. He seems to lack skill in heterosexual situations and appears to have little conception of the feelings or the reactions of the girls; so while there is no great hostility, neither is there any depth of feeling or empathy expressed. He seems unready as yet to benefit from or to be stimulated by a heterosexual group.

E Class Boys : The Cognized Self Picture

In the E class boys' picture of the cognized-self the level of self-esteem is much more moderate than in Grade VI. They still see themselves as strong and agile, consider themselves knowledgeable about games and competent in their performance. However, in self-defence, in competitive

physical activities, and in intellectual endowment they recognize that they rank relatively lower in this new population of bigger, older, children. Transition to the secondary school seems to have prompted attention to themselves and made them more critical. Problems on the Check List in the areas of self concerns (SO) and persons in general (PO) suggest that they are more conscious than previously of evaluation by outside society. Nevertheless, their main problems still centre round jobs and money (status) and restrictions of freedom. There are wide individual variations as to what constitute specific problems for the individual. Boys with lower intelligence seem to have, or think they have, more difficulties; even where such boys are in the upper half of the group for mental age - because they are chronologically old - they still tend to indicate more problems than the brighter, though mentally less-mature boys.

Streaming has not prevented a lowering of the estimates of their intellectual ability. Intellectual success has become more important and although their opinion of their actual achievement in school is not poor, all of them wish

they were brighter intellectually, and for two thirds of them, this is a major wish. More of them now think that their parents also prefer intellectual success rather than physical success. This is probably true as, with the entry of their sons to the secondary school, more parents are likely to be pushing them to get through school and out to work.

The attitude to school in general has deteriorated, the boys are more antagonistic to it and critical of it. They are critical of the conduct of the teaching as well as of its regimentation. They tend to find lessons uninspiring, they dislike study and do not care for reading.

Socially, they are still primarily contained in their own sex group and fairly realistic in their picture of themselves as being of average popularity. Few seem to have achieved any degree of leadership. This may be because of the disruption of their primary school groups and their lack of experience - since they have never previously had to adapt to a change of school - in finding a niche in new groups.

There is an element of regression in their cognized behaviour. This is evident in the allegedly increased degree of obedience to the mother, and in the increased

number of those who regard themselves as too immature to make their own decisions and of those who say they want to be told how to do things. This looks like a reaction to admission to the secondary school where new conditions, and the obvious status and success of older children, have disturbed them so that they want to retreat - whether they actually do so or not - to a more dependent behaviour or to qualify for greater parental support. However, they probably also feel less sure of this support since they think they fall more short of parental ideals than before and are more subject than before to unfair treatment by their parents.

The projected self picture. The basic notion of the self as inadequate persists but the area in which inadequacy causes anxiety is different. Inadequacy persists in the conventional superior-to-inferior-relationship of adult-to-boy, but it also occurs in less obvious situations and relationships. It is not the inadequacy of physical disability, especially in directed and organised situations such as games, that is important: this is seldom referred to. Anxiety is now associated with inadequacy in spontaneously occurring real-life situations where the

idea conveyed is of ineffectiveness in coping with the demands of such a piece of unplanned everyday life. It is as though the boy feels that he does not know the rules of the game and symbolizes this situation in the "lost-boy" stories which occur more frequently in E class. Perhaps the liking for games and the satisfaction derived from playing them are partly counterblasts to the feelings of real-life inadequacy. Games, unlike real life, proceed strictly according to formulas; games therefore present situations in which a boy can feel safe and adequate: real life challenges him.

In E class, boys seem to be looking less to physical prowess as the basis of success, as though they are beginning to realise that they will not achieve recognition and acceptance by society through open physical competition with adults. Just as with maturity the individual shifts from active to verbal expression of his emotions, so the boy seems to be shifting from the goal of success through physical toughness to the goal of success gained through prestige of possessions, through outwitting the adult, and through impressing the adult.

There seems to be more awareness of social pressures.

There is some regard for moral values and a little less egocentricity. Perhaps even so slight a shift of attention from the self to society is stimulated by the transition to secondary school with its more mature population, new figures for identification, and orientation towards the adult socio-economic world.

There is a trend towards greater realism. The lack of projection of success in situations centering on simple physical strength is compatible with the drop in conscious self-esteem in this area, the falling off of major wishes for physical power and skills as exhibited on the Rogers' Test, and the growth of social awareness and social maturation shown in the problems checked on the Check List. There is more acceptance of an average intellectual endowment and fewer projections of anxiety on this score, just as on the Rogers' Test there is a more realistic and accurate assessment as to ability and to school achievement. A part of the group, however, still seems not to have come to terms with themselves in the matter of intellectual endowment. These boys, while consciously trying to reassure themselves of their adequacy by extravagant claims to intellectual brightness and scholastic success, project fear of inadequacy

and failure in school situations, check higher numbers of problems related to school, and give as a primary wish the possession of a higher level of intelligence. Acceptance or non-acceptance of intellectual endowment is apparently a matter of personality and not of intellectual level since the boys who are anxious about intellectual quality come from all along the ranges of IQ and MA.

Although their outlook seems to be more realistic, attention is still strongly focussed on the immediate present. There is an almost complete lack of concern about careers and future employment. Only 3 boys touch on these areas of life and although these stories are a bit more realistic than the 3 given the preceding year they are still rather vague and fantastic.

The boys' projected reactions to society have an almost inconsequential, certainly an irrational, quality. They behave with unprovoked antagonism to society which is quite often projected as impersonal and non-interfering. Their behaviour has a strong delinquent flavour. They appear to think a lot about stealing, truanting, breaking traffic codes, attacking. Although this anti-social and aggressive behaviour takes place mostly outside the home, judgment of it

and punishment for it are regarded as part of parental responsibility. Home is still apparently the external conscience. The fact that this delinquent type of behaviour is recognized as socially unacceptable suggests a weakening of egocentric attention and a growing recognition of the demands society makes on the individual and of its power. In their attack on society the boys are not powerful. Few of the projected selves (heroes) are strong characters, and in open conflict - which is frequently a succession of aggressions and counter-aggressions between the adult and the boy - the boy tends to end-up by submitting or withdrawing but not by defeating.

The attitudes of society or authority outside the home and of the parents within the home, are different. Outside-society, often epitomised by the teacher; exerts authority without sympathy or helpfulness; the father exerts authority often with sympathy and acceptance; and the mother is usually accepting and forgiving and seldom punitive. In turn the boy's reactions within and outside the home are also different. In contact with society outside the home there is a lack of emotional involvement or obligation. He is afraid but does not seem to feel a part of society and

feels no regret about his behaviour. However, in his reactions to the father as the authority figure, there is an awareness of emotional involvement, the boy is ashamed and sorry and more often than in Grade VI admits that the father is co-operative as well as punitive. Home seems to pose few problems for the cognized self, but for the projected self it is the source of quite a lot of conflict, it hampers freedom, it tends to side with outside authority. The boy seems to have the role of the adult female fairly clearly defined since the mother is usually shown as accepting, and extraneous females are seldom introduced into the stories. It may be that adult female authority challenges or threatens less than adult males who are frequently introduced into a story even though they are not present in stimulus pictures.

Attention in the field of peer relationships is shifting. There is scarcely any mention of sibling relationships; relationships with peers of the same sex have about as much attention as before; but relationships between peers of the opposite sex are significantly more frequently mentioned than in Grade VI. The boy's interest in the opposite sex is a fairly openly sexual one with

acceptance by the girl occurring more frequently than withdrawal or rejection. The general trend is for sexuality of role to diminish in a group, which appears to function as a comfortable a-sexual co-operative band of people. There is little attempt to assert masculine superiority. This contrasts with the attitude of the girls who appear to feel that they have to assert themselves and who show more emotional involvement and competitiveness in heterosexual group situations.

The group appears to serve different functions for, and evoke different reactions from, boys and girls in B class. The boys are behaving much in the manner of the Grade VI girls, that is, accepting the group as a co-operative situation, whereas for the girls it is a competitive situation in which they attempt to dominate.

In educational planning and practice for children of this educational stage it would seem, therefore, that the group should be fairly large in order to avoid tensions from mixed-pair situations and reduction of self-confidence in the girls through being singled out. It seems wise too that there should be a well-defined task for the group so that the individual's direct attention is displaced from sexual

roles on to the task, and that the task should be highly co-operative with little to encourage competitive attitudes which would, presumably, tend to lead to domineering behaviour, or to feelings of being threatened on the part of the girl.